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The
Old Mount Carmel Parish

Origins & Outgrowths

By

George Sherwood Dickerman

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The Old Mount Carmel Parish.

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Preface.

SOME forty years ago there came into my hands a copy of the newly published *Tuttle Family* containing a huge mass of information about New Haven people of an earlier time. Necessarily the family records were incomplete and sometimes erroneous. This aroused my desire to make additional investigations in order to secure a fuller knowledge. At this juncture, my brother Edward made us a visit, having come from Hillanddale, the stock farm of my younger brother Watson, where he had been spending a few days. Edward had been fond of horses from his boyhood and had usually kept a good roadster for his own enjoyment. So he was exceedingly interested in Watson's highly bred horses and in his plans for raising superior trotters; and he came to us with his mind so full of Arabian coursers, Messenger blood, famous mares, and stallions with long pedigrees, that he could hardly talk of anything else. Then I brought out the new book and suggested that he give some attention to his own pedigree. He became as much interested in family history as I was. He was retiring from business and had plenty of time for inquiry. For a number of years he pursued investigations that extended to all parts of the country in search of descendants of Thomas Dickerman of Dorchester. He had my coöperation and the results appeared in due time in the publication of the *Dickerman Genealogy*.

In continuation of these studies, I have turned my thoughts to the conditions determinant of family history, or to history in its larger scope; to the preparation of the ground, the course of events, and the discipline of circumstance which influenced fathers and mothers at the outset and trained their children for the long succession. Then, to carry on the survey, something had to be said of the consequences that have followed—a glance, if nothing more, at

the dispersion of families and what they have done in the new communities of which they have been a part.

The neighborhood which gives to this book its title is somewhat obscure in Connecticut annals. It is not mentioned in Atwater's *History of the Colony of New Haven;* only a few lines are given to it in the *Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut;* and even the *History of Hamden* contains only the barest allusions to the old New Haven parish which the town of Hamden displaced at its organization. But the story of this old neighborhood can hardly be regarded as less interesting for this obscurity. Perhaps it is a more impressive example of unfolding life in those times. For most of the people along the Atlantic seaboard in the eighteenth century lived an obscure life among rural surroundings, and from that rural population have come the virile forces that have been foremost in our country's development. For the narrator of this story, there can be no higher satisfaction than comes from the evidence that pioneers bred in the old Mount Carmel parish have borne their full share in this national development.

In the preparation of my manuscript for the press, I have enjoyed the discriminating counsel of Professor Charles M. Andrews, for which I am truly grateful. My thanks are also due to Mr. Donald Lines Jacobus, who has given valuable help in the field of family history.

An interesting work on Mount Carmel by Mr. John H. Dickerman, published in 1904, is particularly rich in photographic illustrations. By the kindness of friends I am able to add a number of pictures of like significance.

The Old Mount Carmel Parish.

I.

The Cruise of the *Onrust*.

THE locality which now bears the name of New Haven was known to the Dutch traders as "Roodenbergh." This name was given to it by Aedriaen Block in 1614, five years after Hudson's exploration of the North River, six years before the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, and twenty-four years before Eaton and Davenport planted their settlement at Quinnipiac, which was the old Indian name of New Haven.

Block was one of the earlier adventurers who sailed from Holland to Manhattan Island. The ships of Holland were then plying over many seas on errands of commerce. The trade in furs, which was carried on with Russia, was lucrative; and when Hudson told his story of beaver and otter without number in the new lands of his exploration, it was a stirring appeal to the Dutch spirit of mercantile enterprise. Some of the merchants quickly made engagements with men who had been with Hudson, fitted out a ship according to their suggestions with stuffs to barter with the natives, and sent them out on a trial voyage. The ship returned after a little while with a cargo rich beyond all expectation. Other ships were then sent out, on one of which was Block. When these ships came back from an equally prosperous voyage, five vessels were fitted out to be commanded by Block and a comrade, Hendrick Christiaenssen. While this little fleet was at Manhattan, disposing of its merchandise and taking on loads of furs for the return trip, one of the vessels, named *The Tiger*, was burned. Thereupon Block took his men and went into the woods for timber with which to build another, depending on the hospitality of the Indians for food. The new ship was successfully built and was called the *Onrust*, which means the "Restless."

In the spring of 1614, Block got together a crew for this craft and started with her up the East River. Piloting his way through the rapids, he gave them the name of "Hellegat," by which name, with the transposition of one letter, they have ever since been called. The coast on their left opened on the view in ever changing aspect: now a rocky point jutting out into the waves, again a long stretch of sandy beach, level meadows bordered with rushes, barren ledges with boulders on them, little islands wooded and grassy, bays and inlets which told of streams flowing out from valleys and hills in the distance, uplands with many a rugged line of cliffs rising above broken hills and valleys covered with forests of oak, maple, beech, chestnut, and hickory mixed with the evergreen of hemlocks, pines, cedars, and junipers. Borne eastward by the wind, they noted one inviting landing place after another where they might well have paused to see more of the region. Doubtless it was toward the close of a fair day that they came to the bay where New Haven is today. At the hour of sunset the columnar walls of East Rock and its sister cliff are often bathed in a crimson glow which might well be spoken of as ruddy, and the name of "Roodenbergh," or Red Hills, which the Dutch gave them seems to be altogether fitting. In a place that offered so good an anchorage and on a shore so abounding in attractive features, one can well believe that the explorers lingered for a day or two.

From New Haven, they followed the coast till they came to the Connecticut River which, observing the great volume of fresh water that flowed out of it into the Sound, they called the "Fresh River." Then they turned and sailed up the river, going as far as the rapids where now are the Windsor locks. As their way was closed at this point, they went about and sailed back to the mouth of the river, whence they proceeded on their eastward course. Soon they came to an island larger than any they had found before, where the Sound opens out into the broad ocean. Here they landed and gave to the ground the name of their captain, calling it "Block Island." The Indians on the island gave them a cor-

dial welcome and entertained them with hominy, succotash, clams, and game. The next step was the exploration of Narragansett Bay with its islands, to the largest of which they gave the name of "Roode Eiland," or Red Island. Thence they passed on between Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, coasted along the shore of Cape Cod, rounded the cape into the bay beyond and explored the Massachusetts waters as far as Nahant, where they found numerous Indians whom they described as "extremely well-looking but timid and shy."

A time had been set for meeting an ocean-bound ship from Manhattan; and so the *Onrust* went no further. Sailing back to Cape Cod, they met the ship *Fortune* laden with a cargo for Holland. Block gave the charge of the *Onrust* to his mate, Cornelis Hendricksen, to take her back to Manhattan, and he himself went on board of the *Fortune* to hasten at once to Holland and there to report his discoveries to the merchants. Arriving at Amsterdam, he prepared a map of the coast he had skirted with an outline of its more prominent features, and this map became the guide of voyagers in the years that followed.

The interest of these Dutch merchants and mariners, however, was not so much in the geography of the new land for its own sake as in the new fields opened for commerce. Block and his comrades had this in mind during the whole of their cruise. They threw down baited hooks in the waters sailed over to find what fish were there. They watched the wild fowl in the skies and on their feeding grounds in bays and rivers. They took notice of the trees and the valuable purposes they might serve; of the plants, berries, and nuts growing wild; and the patches of cultivated ground on which the natives raised a few simple vegetables. Their eyes were keen for traces of wild animals, footmarks in mud or sand; a burrow in a river's bank, a nest in a hollow tree, a beaver dam on a brook, a muskrat's lodge out in a still pond, anything that revealed the presence of an animal wearing a skin of fur that might be stripped off and sent to the Holland market.

A wonderful preserve of wild life it was, unmolested by

fisherman or hunter through long ages, except for the trifling chase of the Indians. The wild creatures did indeed prey upon one another. The beaver gnawed down the young trees along the brooks to build their dams, so that the forest growth must have suffered. But the wilderness everywhere overflowed with abounding resources and was the home of multiplying life in a thousand forms.

The most highly prized of all the fur-bearing animals was the beaver, and apparently the most abundant. A trader's manifest of a cargo that went from Manhattan in 1626 gives the number of skins shipped on one vessel as 8,250, of which 7,246 were beaver; the rest were mostly otter, with a few mink, cat lynx, and small rat, which we may suppose to mean muskrat. Conditions were especially favorable for beaver. The woods were denser than now and brooks fuller in their flow. Hundreds of brooks ran down the gentle slopes through the wooded valleys into the larger streams. There were places without number which were just right for the beaver, places where they could build dams and set lodges for rearing their young, places abounding in the aquatic plants upon which, with the tender bark of birch, willow, and poplar, they fed. The otter and mink also found what they wanted, fish, mollusks, frogs, birds, and other creatures that were an easy prey to them. The muskrat was unknown in Europe before explorers came to America; but here they were to be found in every inland pond and were easily taken by hunters. Wildcats were more dangerous game. They were the big game of forest and mountain and put up an ugly fight against the hunter. A few of their pelts meant more to the man who brought them in than many of other kinds. Wolves and foxes were common, as the settlers afterward found to their cost, but no mention is made of them in the Dutch manifest.

In dealing with the Indians, the Dutch pursued a policy of conciliation. Business made this necessary, for the Indians could not be expected to trade with them unless friendly relations were maintained. In general, they seem to have found the Indians well disposed, as at Block Island and

Nahant. If it had not been so, and if the explorers had feared the Indians, they would not have ventured inland up their new-found Fresh River, even to the rapids at Windsor, as they did.

A passage in Governor Bradford's *History of Plymouth* bears testimony to the amicable relations between the Dutch and Indians in this very region of the Connecticut valley. He speaks of about a thousand Indians, far up the river above Windsor, who had "enclosed themselves in a fort which they had strongly palissadoed about" as a defence against another hostile tribe, and tells how "three or four Dutchmen went up in the beginning of winter to live with them, to get their trade and prevent them from bringing it to the English, or to fall into amity with them; but at spring to bring all down to their place." While these Dutchmen were at this fort, "a great sickness visited the Indians—and half of them died—and the Dutchmen almost starved before they could get away for ice and snow." The event thus recorded was some twenty years after Block's visit, but is none the less descriptive of the habitual conduct of the Dutch in their trading enterprises.

Block arrived in Amsterdam in September, 1614, and gave his report, which was made more graphic a little later by the map he prepared. Some six months previous to this, on March 27, the States General had passed an act:

> That whosoever shall from this time forward discover any new passages, havens, countries or places shall alone resort to the same or cause them to be frequented for four voyages, and that any other person sailing from the United Netherlands to such newly discovered places in the meanwhile will do so on pain of confiscation of his goods and ships and a fine of fifty-thousand ducats to the profit of the discoverer.

This opened the way for the company of merchants who had financed the explorations with which Block was identified to take advantage of his discoveries and they made petition to the States General accordingly. In response a charter was granted, October 11, 1614, giving exclusive right

to resort to, or cause to be frequented, the aforesaid newly discovered countries situated in America between New France and Virginia, the sea coasts whereof lie in the latitude of from forty to forty-five degrees, now named New Netherland, as is to be seen by a figurative map hereunto annexed; and that for four voyages within the term of three years, commencing the first of January 1615 next coming, or sooner.

Apparently this was the first company of capitalists to undertake the fur trade in North America. There had been a good deal of traffic in an unorganized way as individual adventurers had fallen in with the Indians here and there along the coast. So it had been in Nova Scotia and Maine, and especially on the St. Lawrence in Canada, as well as at Manhattan. But this had been without much system. Now the business was being equipped and organized for mercantile operations on a larger scale, which was to include both sides of the Atlantic.

This step becomes the more significant when we take into view the later organizations for a similar object, particularly if we follow the story of the fur trade in its broader aspects and consider the great part it has played in American affairs for all these three hundred years. The enterprise of the Dutch in New Netherland was soon followed by the far extending activities of the French about Montreal, in the upper lake region, and in the valley of the Mississippi; and these in due course were succeeded by the Hudson Bay Company chartered by Charles II of England in 1670, the North West Fur Company a few years later, and a vast network of trading posts and Indian agents, reaching to the Arctic, which still continue with undiminished energy to gather peltry for the markets of the world. The building of the *Onrust* and its maiden cruise had not a little to do with the beginnings of all this enterprise. For this reason, if for no other, the story is well worth keeping in remembrance.

II.

The Quest for Beaver.

DURING the twenty-nine years between the discovery of the Hudson River and the planting of the English settlement at New Haven, the traders from Holland made a distinct impression on the new country. The story of their community at Manhattan is preserved to some extent in historical documents. We are less fortunate in our knowledge of their doings in Connecticut, about which we are left largely to conjecture and our own imagination.

Among other things, these years must have brought a great decrease in the number of animals that were hunted for their pelts. In nine years, 1624 to 1632, according to records, the company received 63,000 skins, mostly beaver. Governor Winthrop, speaking of the Dutch on the Connecticut River, says that about 10,000 skins came annually to their trading post. A similar tale is told of the Swedes in Delaware, of whom it is said that they collected 30,000 skins in their first year. Such wholesale slaughter could not but affect the supply of game. Its disappearance began, of course, in the neighborhood of Manhattan. In the earliest days, Manhattan Island itself was rich in game. Beaver Street, in the business heart of lower New York, gets its name from having been what was first called the "Beaver Path," a trail along the side of an open ditch that was the outlet of a swamp lying toward the north, where now is Exchange Place. The beaver ran over this path to the creek below, making both creek and swamp their familiar haunts. We cannot suppose that they lasted very long in such a spot as this after the Dutch came.

Looking at the topography of the country about New York, one may see at a glance that the land was well adapted to such fur-bearing animals. Across the Hudson River, in New Jersey, are the Hackensack, the Passaic, the Rahway, and the Raritan rivers, with their branches and ponds fed

by smaller streams and brooks. Then, turning to the north, above Central Park and the Bronx throughout Westchester County, there are other streams, the Croton, the Bronx, and the Mamaroneck rivers with their ponds and brooks; then Byram River at the Connecticut boundary and a dozen streams with tributaries in Fairfield County, like the Saugatuck, with which is connected a brook still called Beaver Brook, and a pond called Beaver Pond.

The Dutch collected the furs for their earlier shipments largely from these neighborhoods. The animals were so abundant that, for a considerable time, they could keep up with the tremendous drain made upon their numbers. The fecundity of beavers under favorable circumstances is shown by some recent experiments in the Adirondack region, where they had become extinct. An undertaking was started to restock the country, and, in 1906, the State Commissioner released there twenty-five beavers. In 1915, after nine years, there were not far from thirty-five hundred. So, in those first years of Dutch exploitation, their abounding numbers were not soon exhausted. But shipment followed shipment to meet an ever increasing demand. Instead of a single small ship, larger vessels came two or three at a time, all in a hurry to fill their holds with skins for the Holland markets. This told on the supply. The game became less plentiful, more wary, and harder to catch. So the Indian hunters went back into the woods, farther and ever farther, till there, too, the game grew scarce.

Three or four years after Hudson's voyage, it began to be seen that something must be done to reach out more widely into the wilderness. Two schemes were set on foot. One was the cruise of the *Onrust;* the other was the establishment of a trading post near the site of Albany. Both were undertaken about the same time and each led to a far-reaching enterprise. The post on the upper Hudson became a center to which Indians brought their furs from the Adirondack region, the Mohawk valley, and the country bordering on the Great Lakes, till it attained a commercial importance second only to that of Manhattan itself. The cruise of the *Onrust*

occasioned the chartering of the New Netherland Company, as already indicated, for trading in southern New England.

This New Netherland trade had its center at Manhattan. In a most natural way, it followed along up the Connecticut coast, working eastward as the game became scarce, and at the same time going back from the shore up the valleys into the hill country. After eight or nine years, a new step was taken, in 1623, when a trading post was set up on the Connecticut River, near the headwaters of navigation, after the manner of the one on the Hudson. This was equipped with a stockade for defence and was known as Fort Good Hope. From this point, trade was carried to the north throughout the Connecticut valley and into Canada.

Before this, no doubt, the Dutch had other trading posts for the Connecticut field, at convenient places as the business required. Certain points, from their geographical position, were peculiarly adapted to such a use. Among the earliest, we may believe, was a trading center in the neighborhood of Greenwich or Stamford, accessible to the hunters' trails leading out to the brooks and ponds which were numerous thereabouts. Norwalk and Bridgeport now occupy ground that offered similar advantages. The same may be said of New Milford, Derby, and Waterbury, lying inland on the rivers, and also of Middletown, where there was an Indian village; it is conceivable that an important business was carried on there long before the post was established further up the river. We can be sure that New Haven, with its commodious bay, was not behind any of these places in the advantages it offered for a center of Indian trade.

Converging on each of these centers were the Indian trails that led away into the forests. Beaten paths ran from one center to another and the path most travelled led always to Manhattan. The country was covered with a network of paths and trails, not apparent perhaps to a European stranger, but clearly understood by the practiced eye of a native. Before the Dutch came, the Indians had their main trails over which they glided, sometimes on errands of friendship, and at other times for war. But when the great

trade in furs came, trails multiplied and the old ones took on a new meaning. The main paths, in particular, trodden by less stealthy feet and by the heavier tread of men carrying on their shoulders huge loads, were worn so deeply that no one could miss them. These became the trunk lines of business. So they took on a sort of permanence and were found ready for use when the English settlers arrived on the ground. In the course of time, many of them were widened into cart-paths and eventually into highways. A good many of the old colonial highways afford convincing proof of having originated in such Indian paths.

A number of the highways leading out of New Haven are of this sort. The old road to Milford, and on to Stratford, Bridgeport, and New York, is undoubtedly on the line of an old trade route of the Dutch and Indians. The highway through East Haven to Branford, Guilford, Clinton, and Saybrook, has a similar historical significance. The old Derby road, with the connecting line along the Housatonic to the valley of the Hudson, was probably the route of communication with the post at Albany. But the roads out of New Haven to the north are especially interesting because of Fort Good Hope; for the overland route from that point would naturally have been over one or more of these lines. Most of the traffic was, of course, by water, down the river and through the Sound, but this was slow and uncertain at times; hence, when there was need of dispatch, a swift Indian runner was the resort. There were other reasons, too, for such a route, which lay in the purposes of trade along the way.

New Haven, like a number of Connecticut towns, has a locality known as "Beaver Pond," commemorative of the primeval occupants so dear to the heart of a Dutchman. In the country around are many gushing springs, flowing brooks, and placid ponds; and it is the same throughout the valley reaching back in the Farmington region to Hartford and Northampton; all of which made this a beavers' paradise in the centuries before their pelts had become a marketable commodity. So the explorers found it when they landed at their Roodenbergh; and from this region were carried

Photo by B. A. Tucker

Valley of Mill River from East Rock

See note on page 15

large quantities of furs to swell the cargoes that went out from Manhattan. Not only the beaver, but various other animals as well gave their names to localities where they were once found. New Milford, Middletown, and Bozrah—each has a "Bear Hill"; and Salisbury, a "Bear Mountain." Roxbury has a hill and a brook called "Moose Horn." There is a "Moose Hill" in Oxford and another in Guilford, while Willington has a "Moose Meadow." Suffield has a "Buck Hill" and Woodbury, its "White Deer Rocks." "Cat Hole" is Meriden's name for a mountain and for the brook that runs from its side. Stafford has a "Hedge-hog Hill." Other towns have mountains or hills that perpetuate their fame as the lair of rattlesnakes. All these creatures and many others were here, living and thriving without molestation, except as they preyed on one another, or as a few of them were needed by their Indian neighbors for food and clothing.

All the main paths of trade had uses enough; and particularly those over the shortest way from Fort Good Hope to Roodenbergh. The hunters had trod them long before the post was established on the Connecticut River, and they were used all the more for the greater requirements of trade which came with that new enterprise.

The effect of all these movements of trade on the Indians was very great. When the Europeans began to come, the Indians were simple children of the woods. They wore little clothing; their houses were the rudest of huts; their food was the fish easily caught, the game quite as easily snared or brought down with an arrow, the nuts that fell from the trees, and corn with a few vegetables raised by their women. There were not many things that they cared for. They had their fierce wars, tribe against tribe, with battles that were sometimes orgies of vindictive cruelty. But ordinarily, their time was passed in indolence, basking in the sunshine of summer and huddled in their wigwams to keep from freezing in winter, ignorant, superstitious, with some traits that were noble and others the opposite.

The Dutch were keen enough to see that their business de-

pended on their success in getting along with these people and in handling them for the ends of enterprise. Their good will and interest in trade were as plain an asset of the undertaking as ships or beaver skins. And so the Dutch proceeded systematically and took care not to let a trifling thing or any momentary impulse defeat their object. At all hazards, the Indians must be their friends.

Other visitors from Europe had not been so wise. Many of the explorers had behaved toward the Indians in such a manner as to wreck any business and ruin any undertaking. Some of them had betrayed confidence and violated hospitality in a way that might well have shocked the sensibilities of a brute. One trick was to beguile unsuspecting natives on board their ships and sail away to exhibit the captives before a curious audience, or to sell them in a slave market. Verrazano, who was here in 1524, stole an Indian boy in this way. Some ten years later, Jacques Cartier, on the St. Lawrence, repaid the hospitality of a sachem by carrying him off to France. Weymouth, in 1605, landed at Pemaquid on the Maine coast and took five natives home with him to England. In 1611, Captain Edward Harlow kidnapped three Indians at Monhegan, a fourth at another island, and two more at Martha's Vineyard; one of the Monhegans got away, but the other five Indians were taken to England. Captain John Smith was at Monhegan in 1614, and told of getting 11,000 beaver skins, 100 martens, and many other pelts for a mere trifle; but a man named Hunt who was with him, remaining behind, "betrayed four and twenty of those poor savages aboard his ship, and most dishonestly and inhumanly, for their kind usage of me and all our men, carried them to Malaga and sold them for rials [royals] of eight"; on which Smith makes the comment, "this vile act kept him ever after from any employment to those parts." Who could wonder if such treatment changed inoffensive people into bitter enemies and led them to repay treachery with treachery and cruelty with a responsive cruelty?

The Dutch knew better than to deal with the Indians in any such way. Whether or not they were too just and hu-

mane for such iniquities, they at least had too much sense. Their judgment as to what were the requirements of business was too sound. Provocations did indeed arise, and very early. On that first trip of Hudson in the *Halve Maene*, or *Half Moon*, a sailor was killed by an Indian arrow, for no apparent reason; but they did not think best to imperil the whole expedition by wild retaliation. A few years later, Hendrick Christiaenssen was killed in a similar manner. But these traders held themselves in hand. They buried their comrades with all respect, like soldiers who had fallen on duty, guarded themselves with more care, and went on with their barter.

So the Indians came to believe in the Dutch and to like them. In the summer of 1609, Champlain made his expedition from Quebec up the lake that now bears his name, and gave to the Iroquois their first experience of gunpowder. He had joined himself to the enemies of the Iroquois, the Algonquins and the Hurons, and employed the new and terrible weapons with which his soldiers were armed in their behalf. Always thereafter the Iroquois hated the French. A few weeks after that famous battle of 1609, Hudson and his Dutchmen from the *Halve Maene* were fraternizing with Indians in the neighborhood of Albany, regaling them with dainties that were new and giving them a first taste of strong drink, quite unlike the first taste of powder and ball that had been given them by Champlain. When the *Halve Maene* sailed back down the river, her captain and crew bade goodbye to a people whose lasting friendship they had won. Their visit was soon known to the whole Iroquois tribe and thenceforward the Iroquois loved the Dutch as heartily as they hated the French.

On account of this friendly feeling, the Dutch came to have great influence over the Indians. They learned continually from the Indians, and the Indians from them. They brought over from Holland great stocks of merchandise chosen with care for its attractiveness to the natives. There were gewgaws, more fascinating to the savage than of real value; but there were other things in great number to con-

tribute to their solid comfort, clothes to cover their nakedness, blankets to keep them warm against the winter's cold; kettles, pots, and pans for cooking; garden tools, spades, hoes, and rakes; axes and knives, forks and spoons and dishes. Cultivating a desire for all such useful commodities was a most natural way of awaking the Indians out of their indolence and making them active assistants in the carrying-out of the Dutch plans. Multiplying their desires made them better hunters that they might bring more pelts to barter for the things they wanted. They grew to want more and more of the white man's store goods; and their ambition did not halt till they began to ask for a gun and powder and balls; and too often for the gin and rum that became their ruin.

By such processes, the good and bad mixed, the traders got a control over the Indians that made them ready and eager to take their suggestions and fulfill almost any task for which they were needed. They would bring in packages of furs as required to make up a cargo, and then more furs for the next cargo. They were willing to go far into the forest, where game was still abundant, to meet the increasing demand. They were on hand always to carry messages on swift feet to distant posts, partly for the reward promised, but also out of personal interest in their employers and the enterprises in which they were engaged.

Of course, this manner of treatment was not unvarying. Dutchmen sometimes wronged the Indians shamefully and the Indians sometimes gave the Dutchmen shocking illustrations of wild savagery. But, in general, relations were much better and more kindly and peaceable in the Dutch settlements than in most of the others. The ascendency of the traders habituated the natives to the usages of civilization. Some of these usages were adopted with advantage and raised their standards of conduct. Others, however, worked serious injury and impaired the healthy vigor of their life. In their contact with white men, the Indians learned new vices, and with these came diseases that undermined their vitality and hastened their doom.

Such incessant and wide-reaching activities, such commanding influences, marked the rule of the New Netherland Company. Twenty-five or more years of their work had effects that one can hardly imagine. In 1638, the Indians of this whole region, and the region itself, were greatly changed from what they were when the *Onrust* made her cruise.

Note: In the picture of the Mill River Valley from East Rock, the dam of the New Haven Water Company is shown on the right, with the lake above it. This is where the founders of New Haven built the first dam and set up their corn mill, to be managed in succession by John Wakefield, William Bradley, and Christopher Todd with his sons. The mill gave the river its name of Mill River. The river below the dam, as shown in the picture, has probably changed but little since those early days. But it is different above the dam. As the old dam was only a few feet high, the flow of the river was not much changed and the set back of water made but a little pond. Until recent years, the stream kept to its narrow ancient bed, and the road followed along not far from its bank. Raising the dam to its present height caused an overflow of extensive tracts of low land and formed the lake, which is now so great an ornament to the landscape.

III.

New Netherland and New England.

THE enterprising spirit of the Dutch had a great deal to do with Connecticut in the beginning of its history; more than is contained in the story of the traders. Some of the boldest pioneers who came after the traders had lived in the atmosphere of the Netherlands and had learned there habits of free investigation and large purpose which remained with them after crossing the Atlantic. The Pilgrims who founded Plymouth had received their training, not only in England where they were born and grew up, but at Amsterdam and Leyden with their far different associations. And to an extent we can easily imagine, Thomas Hooker of Hartford and John Davenport of New Haven, each in his own way, added to their intellectual and moral equipment during the years of their exile in the land of Barneveldt and Grotius.

It was the purpose of the *Mayflower* voyagers, Bradford tells us, "to find some place about Hudson's river for their habitation," but on account of the lateness of the season and the necessity of hastening to build themselves shelter against the winter's cold, they changed their plan and made for the nearest port. There was reason enough for this desire to plant their settlement where they would have the Dutch for near neighbors. The Dutch had proved their friendship for them through many years by hospitable behavior toward them when they were needy refugees. Besides, they had shown a positive interest in their undertaking. Indeed, it would seem that the exiles had consulted their Dutch neighbors rather freely in forming their project of removal to America. The project was a large one, involving the removal of four hundred families with their minister. The directors of the trading company knew all about it and favored it, believing that a settlement of these people somewhere in the vicinity of Manhattan would be of advantage to their enterprises. Consequently, the directors made a formal petition to

the States General to assume responsibility in the case, and to plant a commonwealth with the minister and four hundred families under protection of the Dutch government. If the question had been only one of good will, the petition would no doubt have been granted. But political considerations made it impracticable. It was all-important to cultivate friendly relations with England; and for the States General to assume such a responsibility was likely to imperil these relations.

The circumstances of the hour drove the exiles back to England for authorization of their undertaking. There a petition in their behalf was granted, though somewhat grudgingly. The Virginia Company of London wanted them for its Jamestown settlement and were willing to grant a patent with ample privileges, and the King assured them that they should not be molested if they carried themselves peaceably, but he positively refused the act of toleration under his seal by which their religious rights would have been secure. Having to depend on London merchants for ships and outfit, the Pilgrims were cruelly imposed upon, as everyone knows, till a rotten ship and a long delayed voyage brought disasters unlooked for. How much more happy their removal from Holland and their establishment in America might have been, if only the circumstances had allowed them to come under protection of the States General, it is not difficult to imagine.

The friendly attitude of the Dutch toward the Pilgrims found fresh illustration after the removal to Plymouth. Bradford tells of an occasion when some of the Dutch traders were at Plymouth and how, seeing the barren shore and the sad plight the settlers were in, they told them of the attractive lands by the Connecticut River with opportunities for trading with the natives and urged them to go thither and start a trading house. For a number of years, however, the Plymouth people turned their attention to Maine, where they set up a trading post on the Kennebec River that did a lucrative business, so that in five years 12,500 pounds of beaver were shipped to England, besides skins of deer,

moose, bears, foxes, otter, and marten. The exiles learned the ways of trade and acquired a spirit of adventure in Holland that they could never have gained in their old rural homes at Scrooby. Bradford says that one of the anxieties of the exiles in Amsterdam and Leyden was that some of their boys went on far voyages by sea,* which suggests that these young men may have gone on trading vessels to Manhattan, and possibly have tramped with Indians over hunters' trails in Connecticut woods. However that may have been, there certainly were men at Plymouth who had learned the Dutchmen's methods of dealing with Indians, and who rivalled their exploits at the post on the Kennebec.

Eventually, however, some of the Plymouth adventurers turned their minds to the Connecticut River and undertook to start a trading post near the one already managed by the Dutch. Conditions there had changed greatly in the ten or twelve years since the suggestion was first made. The preserves of game that had once seemed so unlimited were becoming exhausted and new hunters were no longer welcome to share in the spoils. Also the tenure of the Dutch in this territory was being disputed by the English, who claimed the rights of earlier discovery. So the Plymouth people finally came over to the Connecticut under protest of the Dutch.† Yet they came all the same. Perhaps they were of a different sort from the first settlers at Plymouth, coarser and rougher in their disposition. Such as they were, they started the flow of English pioneers to the Connecticut valley. True, these first comers did not stay long, but others came in larger numbers from Massachusetts Bay and eventually displaced the Dutch altogether.

Still, these were but incidents of a larger movement. For this region, the day of the hunter and trader was passing away. The day of the tiller of the soil and the builder of a home in an orderly society was at hand. Beaver were growing scarce and hunters from the English settlements were competing sharply with the Dutch for those that were left. At just this time, too, a pestilence came and swept away the

* *History of Plymouth*, p. 46. † *Ibid.*, pp. 301-302.

Indians in large numbers, so that it was no longer easy to find hunters who would go out and scour distant forests for pelts. Between the dwindling of the fur traffic and the increasing pressure of unwelcome neighbors, the pursuits to which the traders were accustomed lost their charm. So the old Dutch traders went out of the valley and English farmers came in.

Yet at this point another influence from the Netherlands, in the person of the Reverend Thomas Hooker, was about to have power over the building of the community life. Like the Plymouth Pilgrims, he had lived for several years as an exile in Holland before coming to America. Hooker in England had proved himself to be a man of great abilities. At Cambridge he was distinguished for his scholarship. As lecturer at the Church of St. Mary's in Chelmsford, he attracted great congregations and made a deep impression on his hearers. Among these were some in high position, such as the Earl of Warwick, who afterward sheltered his family when he was compelled to leave the country. Complaint was made against him by an emissary of Archbishop Laud, when fifty-one ministers of Essex County signed a petition vouching for his worth and the soundness of his teachings. Nevertheless, he was forbidden to preach. Then he went away to Little Braddow and opened a school, in which he engaged, as a teacher, John Eliot, who afterward became famous in New England as the "Apostle to the Indians." But even there Hooker could not stay unmolested, and when it was determined to shut him up in prison, he escaped in a vessel to Amsterdam.

This brought a relief from galling shackles. It was hard, indeed, to be cut off from his family and the many fast friends he had made in his work; but it was good to be out of the bondage of constant fear, away from malignant spies who hounded his steps wherever he went. It was a joy to be able to think with freedom, and without bothering over questions of fitting fresh truths into worn-out artifices of the past. It was a great thing, too, to be in such a country as the Netherlands. It is well understood that a sojourn abroad of-

fers rare privileges to men of intellect, and that universities encourage their instructors to spend a year now and then in foreign travel to broaden their scholarship. Such privileges came to Hooker in his enforced sojourn. He was in the country of all others whose associations were the most inspiring for a man like him, where the spirit of personal rectitude had struggled with brutal oppression in more ways than can be told.

Amsterdam was a commercial metropolis, perhaps before all others in the world at that time. It had a population of 100,000, while London, whose commercial interests were secondary, had only about 130,000. A most informing place for an English observer, with forceful characters of many sorts from many lands, bringing him into touch with manifold phases of life! In this city, Hooker was the assistant pastor of the English Presbyterian Church for a number of weeks and awakened unusual attention by bold utterances in behalf of toleration, a defence of that "Brownist" fellowship to which the Plymouth settlers belonged. From Amsterdam, he went to Delft, and was for two years associate pastor of the English church in that place. Delft is close by The Hague, the seat of government, and some fourteen miles from Leyden with its university, where was the mother church of the Pilgrims. Delft is the birthplace of Hugo Grotius, who like Hooker was at that time in exile for righteous principles. What better place than this to ponder on the subjects that were most in Hooker's thought? After the years at Delft, Hooker spent a few months at Rotterdam in association with those of congenial spirit. Then he returned to England, where he took ship with his family and other friends and sailed for Massachusetts. On their arrival, he became pastor of the newly organized church at Newtown, where he continued for over two years, and then with the greater part of his people removed to Connecticut.

Following the varied incidents of this story, and bearing in mind how much the play of such incidents has to do with the unfolding of mind and heart to form a great life, one cannot but feel that those years in the Netherlands were of

far-reaching consequence. They gave the finishing lessons, the crowning discipline, to a remarkable educational growth whose flower and fruit were to come in the new world. This master spirit of the community in the Connecticut valley owed not a little of his wisdom to those older masters who made the United Netherlands so great in constitutional government.

It is an impressive coincidence that the Reverend John Davenport of the New Haven colony had a course of experiences not altogether unlike those of the Hartford founder. After his university training at Oxford, he became conspicuous for his power as a preacher in one of the London churches. Crowds went to hear him and to be stirred by his eloquence. His eminence brought on him the wrath of the prelacy. An attempt was made to arrest him, when he escaped in a vessel to Amsterdam. This was in the very year of Hooker's return from the Netherlands. Singularly enough, he was engaged to be the assistant minister in the same church where Hooker had preached. Unlike Hooker, however, he continued to live in Amsterdam after his connection with this church was closed, occupying himself with teaching private classes. He had been used to association with merchants and business men in London and on this account, perhaps, found the atmosphere of Amsterdam congenial. In this mart of trade he made himself quite at home. We may suppose that he saw merchants and talked with mariners, watching ships as they left the wharves for all parts of the world and returned again from their voyages. He interested himself in commerce, and here, no doubt, employed his mind on the conception of a seaport community in America. In this place of exile, we may surmise, he had communication from time to time with his merchant friends, Eaton, Goodyear, Gregson, and Lamberton, outlining to their sympathetic minds the enterprise which afterward they undertook together in planting the settlement of New Haven. In a somewhat different way from that of Hooker, but to a like end, he, also, learned in exile what was to be of vast significance in the building of a commonwealth.

Davenport returned to London in 1635, and two years later embarked with his promising company for Boston. On their arrival they were most hospitably welcomed by the people already on the ground. Inducements of various kinds were offered them for casting in their lot with the Massachusetts colony. But the company kept an attitude of indecision and for about a year engaged in systematic explorations until finally they removed to Quinnipiac.

It has been asked now and then why Hooker and his companions abandoned their homes at Newtown after they had become so well established to go out so far into the wilderness and start again under circumstances of severe hardship. And perhaps it has been asked about as often why Davenport and his company were not content to remain in the vicinity of Boston when everything was made so inviting for their settlement there. Explanations of one sort and another have been given, not always quite conclusive or satisfactory. May we not find at least a clew to the answer to these inquiries in the discipline through which, during those years in the Netherlands, Hooker and Davenport secured their final training for the building of a new kind of commonwealth?

It was not in the nature of things that these master spirits, fresh from the exile's ordeal, should look upon commonwealth building in quite the same way as those who had come over directly from England, never having seen any community life other than that of an English parish. Although these had been non-conformists and had suffered a good deal for opinions that were not approved by rulers in power, still they had not gone so very far from the traditional habits of thought and practice that were prevalent in England. They had come over the Atlantic in the hope of more latitude for themselves individually, but not with very greatly changed conceptions of the sort of community that was best. Transplanted with a sudden spade-thrust from English soil to that of a new land, they thought of little but getting their roots fastened down, and living the same sort of life they had lived before, being good Englishmen, good Christians of the ordinary kind, good citizens reverencing the King and

obedient to all reasonable requirements of the law. They had not much patience with serious departures from old ways of thinking and behaving. They had a mind to keep the new wine closely shut up in old and leaky bottles.

Is it any wonder that Thomas Hooker, coming right out from the ferment of Delft and Leyden, could not stand this? Is it any more wonder that Davenport, after his world-wide contemplation of commercial enterprise at Amsterdam, did not feel like burying himself and all his London associates in a hide-bound pocket whose atmosphere had in it no exhilaration or incentive? The errands on which they came had a larger scope; and the people they had gathered about them were of like mind. The most astonishing thing in it all is that Hooker and Davenport had gained so complete an ascendency over their respective companies as to be able to propose an undertaking of hazards so formidable and to carry bands of men, women, and little children with them to its execution. Such an achievement throws into strong light the commanding strength of a disciplined manhood.*

* The author is indebted to Professor C. M. Andrews for this caution: "I am not quite sure how far you are justified in what you say about the influence of Holland on Hooker and Davenport. The idea is attractive, but such ideas are hard to prove. If such influence actually was felt by these men, then the results were oddly at variance, as no two political schemes could have been more unlike than those tested at Hartford and New Haven." It may fairly be taken for granted, however, that the years of exile in Holland were not barren of consequences for either of these vigorous thinkers. For Hooker in particular, who was before Davenport both in Holland and in America, one can easily believe that the free thought of the Netherlands had a great deal to do with shaping his convictions. And it is not so very surprising that the two men differed in their conceptions of a well-governed commonwealth. It does not appear that they were associated together in England, and they were in Holland at different times; so that their projects were thought out independently. Then, too, the circumstances under which they passed their years of exile were quite different. The atmosphere of Delft, where Hooker spent most of his time, was about as different from that of Amsterdam, where Davenport lived, as Hooker's political views were unlike those of Davenport. Even their disagreements may be traced in a measure to the dissimilar influences that played about them in those troubled years.

IV.

Pioneer Communities.

THE migrations from eastern Massachusetts to the Connecticut River were made by a number of distinct groups severally banded together beforehand. The men from Plymouth came to fix a trading post and were hardly prepared for permanence. Not so the founders of Windsor, Springfield, Wethersfield, and Hartford. The bolder spirits among them had visited the Connecticut valley during the year or two previous, made themselves familiar with the trails through the forests and the features of the country, and learned where the choicest lands were to be found and what points on the river offered most attractions for a settlement. But having decided on their course, they started out as communities made up of families—men, women, and children with domestic animals and whatever might be needed for making homes—with their church also uniting them under a religious covenant.

Their movement was practically a transfer of the neighborhood life that had been lived in one spot near the coast to new ground in the interior. The Windsor people had lived at Dorchester for four or five years, having gathered themselves into a company first at old Plymouth in the west of England, where their church was formed; and now they were going in a body to the new country of Windsor. In a like orderly way, the company which settled at Springfield removed thither from old homes they had had near together at Roxbury. So too the Wethersfield settlers were for the most part from Watertown. The largest company of all, which founded Hartford, came from their previous settlement at Newtown, which is the site of the modern Cambridge. These four removals were all in the same season, during the spring and summer of 1635-36, as if in concert and by mutual agreement. It was also arranged that the settlers should be united under a common government; a com-

mission for a provisional government to last for one year was granted them by the Massachusetts General Court, and two representatives from each of the plantations, including Springfield, had the control at the beginning. In due course, this government under the commission was extended to the second year.

The plantations of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield were made in connection with a patent for the territory of Connecticut supposedly granted by the Council for New England to the Earl of Warwick, and by him quit-claimed to certain Lords and Gentlemen in 1631. At the same time, in March, 1635-36, under the same patent, the younger John Winthrop sailed out of Boston harbor at the head of another company for the mouth of the Connecticut River, where they built a fort at Saybrook mounted with two cannons for defence against any dangers that might threaten from the Dutch in that quarter. The several movements were parts of a comprehensive plan, in connection with which we should not forget the intimate friendship of the Earl of Warwick for Thomas Hooker, which was so close as to cause him to afford shelter to Hooker's family while Hooker was a refugee in Holland.

The removal of such large numbers from the older settlements in the neighborhood of Boston was easier and attended with smaller losses on account of the great immigration from England which was then at full tide. Doubtless a strong sentiment in behalf of the immigration, and a prevailing desire to encourage it by affording opportunities for the newly arrived families to provide themselves with homes without delay, had much to do with the willingness of so many to give up their comfortable places and go into the wilderness to start again. There was a certain solidarity which we can hardly imagine between the people who had risked the voyage and landed safely in America and their friends on the other side who were hesitant about the great undertaking. The removals to the Connecticut River made room for as many more to leave England. They came with a rush. The vacant houses were soon filled with fresh families,

the churches restored to full strength, the community life carried on anew, almost as if there had been no break.

In the summer of 1637, the year after the removals to the Connecticut valley, the Davenport and Eaton company arrived in Boston. They met with generous hospitality and much was done to keep them somewhere in that neighborhood. But they had other plans and took time for wider investigation before coming to a decision. Soldiers returning from the Pequot war told of the "place called Queenapick, having a fair river fit for harboring ships, and abounding with rich and goodly meadows." A party under Theophilus Eaton went to see the place and found it altogether attractive. Seven of their number were selected to remain there through the following winter and Eaton with the rest went back to Boston. When the spring opened, the company as a whole embarked on shipboard and, in April, arrived at their destination.

Meanwhile, the men left on the ground were not idle. They tried in particular to get near to the Indians of the neighborhood and to be on the most friendly terms with them. These Indians were in no little danger from other Indians, belonging to hostile tribes, who might at any time overwhelm them by a sudden attack. On this account, they welcomed the prospect of an English settlement near by which might protect them. So when Eaton returned with his friends, they found the way open for negotiations, and very soon a bargain was made with the natives by which title was obtained to a considerable territory, indispensable for the settlement. The new town was then laid out in a large square divided by cross streets into nine smaller squares of which the one in the center was reserved for a public common. One group of settlers was from Yorkshire and to it was assigned the square west of the common. Another group, from Hertfordshire, had the square adjoining on the south. The other squares were distributed to the rest of the settlers so far as they went, and after that assignments were made outside of the squares. Houses were set not very far apart for safety and defence. Adjacent fields in the country around were en-

closed for pasturage and cultivation. The woods near by became a convenient resort for timber and fire-wood. In the center of the open square was built the meeting-house which served not only for worship, but for public assemblies generally, particularly for the town meetings.

Following the laying out of New Haven came that of a companion settlement at Milford, in August, 1639. This was undertaken by a number of the New Haven people with additions from Wethersfield and elsewhere. The spot chosen was on a small stream having a good mill site a few miles to the west. Several of the Hertfordshire planters disposed of their lots in New Haven to share in this movement. There were fifty-four planters in all engaged in this undertaking. Not long after this, a fresh company arrived from England under the lead of the Reverend Henry Whitfield and Robert Kitchel and started a settlement at Guilford. Then, in the following year, still another company came to New Haven from over seas and went across the Sound to establish themselves at Southold on Long Island. Again, in that same year, 1640, Captain Nathaniel Turner, as agent for New Haven, went on an excursion to that point on the coast where Stamford is now, and bought from the Indians a tract of territory, which in the following November was sold to Andrew Ward and Robert Bell, representing some twenty-two families who wished to leave Wethersfield and start a new plantation under the New Haven jurisdiction. Once more, in 1640, Reverend Samuel Eaton, one of the New Haven planters and a brother of Governor Eaton, obtained from the court a grant of Totoket, now Branford, for friends in England who were intending to come over, and himself went back to England to bring them out. Just then the political situation changed so that his friends chose to stay in England and he concluded to stay with them. In this exigency, another company from Wethersfield took up the project and started the Branford settlement in 1643. Thus, six plantations, New Haven, Milford, Guilford, Southold, Stamford, and Branford were founded and grouped to-

gether.* They were formally associated in a General Court, in which each plantation was represented, and constituted the "New Haven Colony," in distinction from the "Connecticut Colony," of which Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield were the nucleus.

The northern colony was not behind that on the Sound in adding new plantations. Among these was Fairfield, in 1639, on ground the attractive features of which had been made known by soldiers who were in the "great swamp fight" not very far from there. In the same year, some first steps were taken for the settlement of Stratford; and in the following year, 1640, a large purchase of land was made beyond Fairfield, on which in course of time arose the settlement of Norwalk. These three adjacent settlements, though in the neighborhood of the New Haven towns, were under the jurisdiction of the colony whose seat was at Hartford. At the same time that these enterprises were under way at a distance, the Hartford people were also active nearer home, getting possession of the lands about the Indian village of Tunxis, in the Farmington valley, where a few years later came the settlement of Farmington. Interesting things, also, were going on at Saybrook where Winthrop built his fort. In 1639, Colonel George Fenwick founded what was called a "commonwealth" at that point; and, in 1644, Connecticut purchased from Fenwick for £1,600 the Warwick patent with jurisdiction rights in that enterprise. The settlement continued to have some importance till about twenty years later, when the Saybrook people bought a tract nine miles square on the Pequot River and removed thither with their pastor, the Reverend James Fitch, to found the town of Norwich.

So it came to pass that many settlements were started within the course of a few years, some fourteen in all between 1636 and 1641, in that particular bit of territory, not to speak of those in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. What is known as the Puritan migration to New England took place, most of it, between 1630 and

* Greenwich was added in 1656.

1640. This was the period during which Charles I would have no parliament and undertook to make his own will the supreme law. In ten years about twenty thousand of his dissatisfied people went to New England, determined to make commonwealths of a better and happier sort. The number was small at the beginning but grew from year to year. When the settlers about Boston began to go over to the Connecticut River, a great many were coming from England. Vessels crowded with passengers followed one another in swift succession over the sea; while, at home, Englishmen by hundreds made ready to join the movement as soon as they could arrange their affairs for so great a venture. This was why so many different places, far beyond immediate requirements, were chosen for settlements; and why such large tracts of territory were secured against coming demands. A new England was fast growing into form and there was every reason to believe that its growth would keep on indefinitely. It was so till 1640. In that year the King suddenly called a new parliament to help him against an uprising of the Scotch Covenanters. That meeting resulted in the Long Parliament. Then the movement to New England came to a pause.

Those who were about to go over changed their minds and gave it up. Some of those who had gone came back. They could think now of making old England new, and getting the better order of things without crossing the Atlantic. Parliament gave them a chance. Strafford and Laud were impeached. The Star Chamber and High Commission Courts were abolished and civil war followed. Parliament joined the Scots in their Solemn League and Covenant. Oliver Cromwell and the Ironsides came upon the field. The autocratic monarchy was overthrown and England proclaimed a free commonwealth under government by the House of Commons.

This may have been cause for exultation to the settlers in New England, but it involved a change for their prospects. The plans so widely laid for building up all the new communities were contingent on a steady flow of immigration.

The growth that had been counted on to make them prosperous was over. The settlements on the Connecticut River and along the Sound were designed to be ports for trade, as we know them today—Hartford, New Haven, Bridgeport, Norwalk, Stamford; but with ships coming and going only now and then, what chance was there for a growing commerce? The men who had come into the undertaking because of special qualifications for life in a trading port found little to do in the crafts for which they had been trained.

This set-back, however, did not by any means bring to an end these settlements; it only changed their outlook and turned their energies into other channels. There were many ways in which to get a living; and in a new country the opportunities for ingenuity were countless. The skill acquired in one craft could be readily turned to others. People learned to turn their hands to anything, hunting, fishing, tilling the ground, raising cattle, building houses, making garments, doing the hundred and one things that belong to civilization, whatever the conditions that have to be met. This made "Yankees" of them.

Hartford and New Haven were happy in their earliest governors. The magistrate was much of a figure in the New England settlements. He was looked up to for decisions of great weight. Governor Bradford was the ruling genius of Plymouth colony for some thirty-five years. The elder Winthrop exercised a similar influence for Massachusetts Bay. It was not very different with William Pynchon at Springfield. They were strong, wise men and their personal power went far in maintaining conditions of mutual forbearance and prosperity. In like manner, Hartford had for its magistrates John Haynes and Edward Hopkins; and New Haven had Theophilus Eaton. All were men of wealth and social position, experienced in handling people and dealing with large business interests. Some of them had been closely associated in England and could aid one another, if necessary, in their new fields of duty.

Haynes was from Essex and undoubtedly became at-

tached to Hooker at the time of his famous Chelmsford lectures. Hooker and he came over to America together in a vessel that also carried the Reverend Samuel Stone, the Reverend John Cotton, and some two hundred others. Haynes was so highly regarded that he was soon chosen assistant and a year later was elected governor of Massachusetts. During the year he was governor, the movement to the Connecticut valley got under way. In that same year, also, Mabel Harlakenden, a maiden of twenty-one, with her brother Roger and his newly wedded wife, arrived from England, having left their home in Essex and come over summer seas to share in the adventure. How much the Governor had to do with their coming, we are not told; but not many weeks went by before he and Mabel Harlakenden were married; and then, young Henry Vane having come on the ground and been chosen to fill the office of governor, Haynes and his bride followed their many friends over the trail to Hartford, where in due time the people united in choosing him to be the first governor of Connecticut.

Edward Hopkins was one of the London merchants in the company of Davenport and Eaton. He was related by marriage to Eaton and was one of his warmest friends. It would have been natural for him to go on with his friends to Quinnipiac, but for some reason he chose to join the Hartford people. The basis of citizenship there was broader, and eventually became land ownership; while, at New Haven, it was membership in the church. This disagreement was considered more vital then than it would be now. Probably Hopkins became dissatisfied with the qualification of church membership and went to the Connecticut colony on this account. He was heartily welcomed there, and an arrangement was made by which Haynes and Hopkins should take turns in being governor, on alternate years, and this plan was carried out till the death of Haynes in 1654.

Theophilus Eaton* was quite as distinguished a figure at

* "Theophilus Eaton," by Honorable S. E. Baldwin. N. H. Col. Hist. Soc., *Papers*, Vol. VII, pp. 1-33.

New Haven. His personality was so attractive and commanding that he seems never to have had any competitor for the dignity of governor. Undoubtedly this fact was a good deal of a magnet, attracting the other settlements to New Haven and binding the several places firmly together. If Wethersfield had contained a man strong enough to hold the confidence of the people, such a man as Haynes or Hopkins or Eaton, at the beginning, the settlers there would hardly have been so hasty in flying to Stamford and Branford. There is evidence of the power of these honored magistrates for stability in what happened after they were gone. At Hartford, the community was thrown into that wild turmoil which led a great body of the people to go away to the meadows above Northampton and plant the new settlements of Hadley and Hatfield; and at New Haven, after Eaton's death, came the exodus to New Jersey and the founding of Newark, while even Davenport lost heart and removed to Boston for another pastorate, where he passed the closing days of his life. If the sound judgment and balanced statesmanship of the old magistrates could have remained at the helm through those troubled times, one can believe that things would have been different.

The restoration of Charles II to the throne of England made a serious change in New England affairs. It was particularly so with the two colonies of Connecticut and New Haven. Then the younger John Winthrop was found to be the man for the hour. After his expedition to the mouth of the Connecticut River for the building of the fort at Saybrook, he obtained a grant of Fisher's Island at the mouth of the Thames River, built himself a house there, and a few years later started the settlement of New London and devoted himself to the interests of that new community. This settlement belonged to the jurisdiction of Connecticut, in which he became a magistrate in 1651, was chosen governor in 1657, and continued in that office, with the exception of a single year, till his death nineteen years after. Under his management, the New Haven colony was merged with its sister colony under the name of Connecticut, a charter being

granted for that purpose by the King in 1662.* The New Haven people were generally against this measure and felt that they were wronged. It was an especially bitter experience for Davenport, who saw the ambition of his life turned aside from its fulfillment. In our day, however, few will question that the union of the two colonies in one homogeneous commonwealth was timely and wise.

The younger Winthrop had a great inheritance from his father, who was so conspicuous a figure in the beginnings of Massachusetts. He grew up in the enjoyment of those things which wealth affords, familiar with the dignities of honorable station, with the habits of a cultivated family, trained to high standards of conduct and imbued with a sense of responsibility for his deeds; his equipment for life was indeed unusual. He lived in England at different times for a number of years and had not a few influential friends there. Probably he had a better knowledge of political affairs and the current thought of the old country than any other man of his day in New England. On this account, he could understand the point of view of English statesmen better than most of the people in the colonies. He could see what things could not be done at the King's court, and what concessions must be made to gain a point. So he was at an advantage, not only in securing the charter, but in the administration of government under the new order. With so accomplished a governor, the united colony went successfully through a disturbed period of transition and entered on a new stage of growth and prosperity.

* The shelter afforded the regicides in New Haven no doubt had influence in discrediting the administration of affairs there, and paved the way for Winthrop's diplomacy.

V.

Quinnipiac Lands.

BY their purchase from the Indians, the New Haven settlers came into possession of ample tracts of land in the neighborhood chosen for their plantation. These lands they proceeded to utilize as seemed best for the immediate and the prospective interests of the colony.

They brought over from early associations in England quite distinct opinions about the value of real estate. At that time, England and Wales had a population of about 4,000,000, of whom at least half were dependent on wages earned from day to day.* For ordinary work, a day's earnings were from a shilling to a shilling and six pence. The price of wheat was about six shillings a bushel, so that a whole week's labor would do little more than pay for a single bushel.† The other half of the population were more well-to-do, and among them the landholders were in a position of especial dignity and independence, constituting, as the landed gentry, a superior class of society. For these reasons, ownership of land was significant of privilege and prerogative.

In all parts of England, a good deal of land was kept as common property for the people in general. People who had no land of their own were allowed free access to the commons, pasturing their cattle there in the common droves, carrying away wood for their fires, and tilling the ground in patches laid out by mutual agreement. The commons, at that period, belonged to the institutional life of the country as much as the private estates that were fenced off for the gentry; and in their way they were every whit as essential to the continuing life of the community.‡ Usages that prevailed thus in the mother country determined in large measure the

* A. P. Usher, *Industrial History of England*, p. 89, estimates the population of England in 1630 at 5,225,000.

† Thorold Rogers, *Work and Wages*, pp. 431-432.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 88-91.

course followed by the settlers in laying out lands for their infant colony; with this advantage, however, that they could break with tradition whenever necessity called for it.

The earliest account of raising crops at New Haven tells of cultivating the ground as common. The ground referred to was in "The Neck," the land lying between the two rivers where Fair Haven is now. This particular piece had probably been cultivated before by Indians and so was easy to work. We may imagine that the men whom Eaton had left to spend the winter at New Haven had an understanding with the Indians and got to work as soon as the frost was out of the ground so as to have their plants up before the arrival of the main company. This forehandedness led to the raising of a question, when the time came for making apportionments to individual settlers, as to the disposal of this cultivated spot, which was met by the following ordinance:

> It is agreed by the town and accordingly ordered by the court that the Neck shall be planted or sown for the term of seven years, and that John Brockett shall go about laying it forthwith, and all differences betwixt party and party about ground formerly broken up and planted by English there shall be arbitrated by indifferent men who shall be chosen to that end.

So it seems to have been decided that this land in the Neck should continue to be common and to be cultivated in that way for seven years.

The apportionments of ground to individuals were made by exact rules according to the amount of one's property and the number of persons in his family. It was provided that no one should sell his allotment to anyone not belonging to the colony except by permission of the town, a safeguard against unwelcome neighbors. It was another rule that no planter could buy land from the Indians or anyone else for his own private use, but only for the benefit of the plantation. Probably the earlier assignments were largely by individual selection and mutual agreement. To settle differences, this ordinance was enacted:

To prevent offences as much as may be and that all men's spirits be the better satisfied with their allotments, it is ordered that where the planters do not fully agree among themselves in dividing their lands all divisions generally shall be made by lot.

The first act in the distribution of lands was the assignment of home lots to settlers. This took up the eight squares around the central common and a considerable number of other areas about the water front, thus marking out the nucleus of the community. Next came, during January, 1640, what was afterward known as the *First Division of Land*, covering the ground within two miles of the town; and this was followed in October, 1640, by the *Second Division* which extended to the uplands lying without and beyond the two miles from town. A feature of these divisions was a judicious combination of upland and meadow for each allotment. The official record concerning these divisions is as follows:

It is ordered that in the first division which is to be made of upland and meadow within two miles of the town (a place called the Neck, being all or the greater part within two miles, not reckoned) every planter shall have after the rate of five acres of land for every £100 in estate, and for every person or head in his family (his wife with himself and children only to be reckoned) two acres and a half of land; and further that every planter shall have in the Neck aforesaid after the rate of one acre for £100 in estate and half an acre for every person; and the meadow belonging to the town being duly considered and estimated, it is ordered that every planter shall have after the rate of five acres for every £100 in estate and half an acre of meadow for every person.

And in the second division of upland lying without and beyond the two miles from the town, it is ordered that every planter shall have after the rate of twenty acres for every £100 in estate, and for every head two acres and a half.

The lands allotted in the First Division amounted to some 4,900 acres of upland, 565 acres in the Neck, and 2,000 acres of meadow; while in the Second Division the amount was some 8,200 acres. How much of this was actually taken up by those to whom it was assigned? Not all, as is fully

shown in the records. In 1678-79, the surveyor was directed "to lay out the second division of the small lots on the west side, and the remainder of the first division of the Yorkshire Quarter" which proves that these claims had been disregarded for nearly forty years. In 1704, attention was called to a map of Gregson's farm at Solitary Cove, in which the amount of land was made eighty-three acres and forty-five and a half rods, whereas his assignment had been one hundred and thirty-three acres. Here was a right to nearly fifty acres that had been unheeded for over sixty years. Of like import is an order of the town in 1668:

> That all persons who have any right in lands unfenced, either of their first division or second division on the Neck, bring in the number of acres before September, that there may be a new laying out of the same, and the bounds be settled and maintained according to law.

A reason for not claiming allotted lands was probably the liability for taxation involved. With the order for the Second Division, it was enacted:

> That all the upland in the first division, with all the meadows in the plantation, shall pay fourpence an acre yearly, at two several days of payment, the one in April and the other in October, to raise a common stock or public treasury.

Where lands could be utilized and made productive, the payment of these taxes was accepted as a matter of course; but to pay taxes on wild land was another thing. For shareholders living in England and for any who had removed to other settlements, this was reason enough for omitting to register their rights. Most of the shares assigned to non-residents, no doubt, were left to be public property, with much other land that even the settlers were unable to improve.

Besides allotting lands to individual settlers, provision was also made for commons. The square in the center of the town was the most important; but the so-called "Sequestered Lands" served a valuable purpose. The Sequestered Lands of the First Division lay in the northwest part of the town, beginning near what is now Broadway and extending to the

neighborhood of West Rock and Pine Rock. A large tract nearer the town was designated as the "Cow Pasture," to which every morning was driven a herd of cows, coming from scores of barn-yards, to graze through the day and be driven back at night to their several owners for the milking. Along the southern edge of the Cow Pasture, about on the line of Whalley Avenue, was a path that led to the "Ox Pasture" beyond Beaver Pond; and this was the usual way of going to the commons beyond the Pastures, whence we may suppose the people brought timber for building and loads of wood for fuel.

The frequented thoroughfare was from the waterside with its wharves and shipping up across the "Green," as it is now called, to the Sequestered Lands, or Pastures. On either side of this medial line were the Quarters, extending out to the two-mile limit and covered by the farming lands and wood lots of the people whose homes were clustered together about the meeting-house in the center. At the east and north were four contiguous Quarters, and separated from them at each end were five other contiguous Quarters at the south and west. The people living in the former came to be called "those on the east side" and the people in the latter "those on the west side." The Quarters on the east side were designated as "Mr. Davenport's," "Mr. Eaton's," "Mr. Newman's," and "Mr. Tench's"; those on the west side as "Yorkshire," "Hertfordshire," "Mr. Gregson's," "Suburbs," and "Mr. Lamberton's." In process of time, Mr. Eaton's Quarter came to be called "The Governor's," and, later, "Mr. Jones' Quarter"; Mr. Newman's became "James Heaton's," and then "The Little Quarter"; Mr. Tench's became "Horton's," next "Cooper's," and afterward "The Second Quarter"; Hertfordshire took the name of "Goodman Gibbs"; and Yorkshire that of "Mr. Evance," while Mr. Gregson's was called "Mr. Goodyear's Quarter." This division by Quarters answered a similar purpose to the modern division by wards in the articulation of the community.

In the early years of the settlement, the lands of the First

Division were about all that could be handled to much advantage. If we take a map of New Haven, and with the Center Church for a focal point, draw a circle of two miles radius, we shall find that it includes the Reservoir on Prospect Street, East Rock, Fair Haven to a point beyond the Strong school, the ground beyond the Ferry bridge nearly to Grannis Corner, Oyster Point, the edge of West Haven, Allingtown, Yale Field, a part of Westville, Beaver Hill and Beaver Pond, Hamden Plains nearly to the church, and the village about the Winchester Arms Works. The grounds within this area were near enough to the houses clustered about the Green, where the people lived, to be looked after and put to some practical use; but with regard to lands beyond the two miles, it was another story; most of them were like a wilderness, haunts of foxes, wolves, rattlesnakes, and wildcats; and to think of cultivating them or pasturing cattle there was a venture that few men would care to try.

But the venture had to be made, in the interest of the settlement, if for no other reason. The men for such undertakings were those of independent means, who could engage laborers to go out and work on the land from day to day, till improvements made it practicable to build and some might be found willing to live there. The paths, old Indian trails, running from the town in different directions, attracted particular attention for the advantages they offered to the grounds adjoining.

Foremost here, as in other things, was Governor Eaton; and the path for his undertaking was that leading to the north on the west side of the Quinnipiac River. He obtained a grant for a large tract of land, three or four miles from the center, northward of East Rock, and set about making improvements. Proceeding with the cultivation of the ground, he found the lowland underlaid with superior clay and started a brickyard, beginning in this way an industry which has continued most valuable and prosperous to the present day. Eaton was soon joined by David Atwater, for whom a farm was laid out close by East Rock on ground sloping gently to the east, a homestead that still remains in

the Atwater family. North of this place, assignments were made to Captain Turner, William Potter, Richard Mansfield, and Francis Brewster. Brewster's land soon passed into the hands of William Bradley; and after Eaton's death his farm and brickyard went to his stepson, Thomas Yale.

On the further side of the Quinnipiac, there was another spot, on which several paths converged, one running along the east side of the river, a second going off toward the Connecticut River and striking it where Middletown is now, and a third leading through Foxon to points along the shore. The town voted that Mr. Davenport might choose his allotment where he liked and take as much land as he wished. He chose this locality, outlining a considerable tract, though not an unreasonable amount. He engaged Alling Ball to become the manager of this farm, and Ball went over there to live in 1650, and was exempted from military service while in the minister's employ. Afterward, Ball had a farm of his own to the north of Davenport's.

Another path quite as important as any of these, probably more travelled, was on the further side of West Rock. The lines of travel in a new country are likely to keep to the high ground, avoiding swamps, running along a mountain's side and over hilltops, where one can have an outlook on the region around and be sure of the direction in which he is going. A road from Farmington to the coast, in early times, was commonly called the "back-bone" route because it ran along the rocky ridge. This path left the ridge to come down through the alluvial valley watered by the West River. To this inviting region, Stephen Goodyear turned his attention and asked for an assignment of land there, to which the town readily assented, laying out a large tract. Goodyear engaged for his farmer Richard Sperry, who forthwith undertook the management of the land and filled the position so well that he continued to hold it all the rest of his life. After Goodyear's death, the property went into Sperry's possession and was known as "Sperry's Farm." This Sperry was conspicuous in local history as a friend of the regicides. He had a large family and his descendants are numerous in Connecticut and

elsewhere. Closely associated with him was Ralph Lines, another landholder, and father of a numerous family.

There were two other points that seemed to demand occupation as early as practicable, one on either side of the harbor as vessels sailed in to make port. On the right was Solitary Cove, now Morris Cove; and on the left was the reach of level plain, where now is West Haven. Mr. Gregson asked that he might have his allotment at Solitary Cove; and at the same time he suggested an allotment on the opposite side of the harbor for Mr. William Hawkins, a wealthy subscriber who was expected to join the colony as soon as circumstances should allow. Both allotments were made without question, but neither fulfilled expectations. Hawkins never came over to take his place in the settlement and Gregson failed to develop his property. Blame can hardly be attached to Gregson, however, for he was so absorbed in other business connected with the building up of the commercial interests of New Haven that he could scarcely have found time to look after his farm. Eventually, one half of his land came into the possession of George Pardee, Jr.

The territory south of Gregson's land, extending down to what is now Lighthouse Point, was called the "Little Neck." In 1647, William Andrews, John Cooper, and Richard Beckley jointly petitioned the town that they might have a tract of one hundred and thirteen acres here in place of seventy acres that had been assigned them in the vicinity of Westville. The request was granted, but their purpose was not carried out; for, in 1651, a fresh application was made by William Andrews, Richard Beckley, Matthias Hitchcock, Edward Patterson, and Edward Hitchcock, and it was ordered that they have "the Neck of land by the sea-side beyond the Cove and all the meadows belonging to it, below the island with a rock on it." Twenty years later, in 1671, this property was bought by Thomas Morris, and upon it was erected the Morris mansion which was the home of the family for many generations; and which was recently given, for a memorial, to the New Haven Colony Historical Society by the late William S. Pardee.

Returning to the territory on the west side of the harbor, it appears that there were people living in that neighborhood as early as 1644, although no intimation is given of where they came from. In October of that year, one Nehemiah Smith of Stratford came to New Haven with a proposal to undertake sheep raising, and asked of the town forty acres of upland and ten of meadow by Oyster River, for this purpose. He obtained the grant and put the sheep on the ground, but neighbors raised such violent opposition that he was led to give it up. The town then arranged to have the sheep kept in a part of the Neck; but this did not work satisfactorily, and it was finally decided to set apart a tract near the brook, above the plains beyond the Sequestered Lands. Smith settled down there with his sheep and continued in the business with rather doubtful success for twelve years, till 1652, when he gave it up and removed to New London. The incident is especially interesting for the names "Shepherd's Pen" and "Shepherd's Brook" which became attached to this outpost.

Somehow, the people were slow to accept allotments in these parts, though special encouragement was early offered. In 1640, it was ordered:

> That all the small lots about the town should have four acres of planting ground to every lot and an acre to every head layed out beyond the East River betwixt our pastor's farm and the Indian wigwams.

And in the following year another order modified this as follows:

> That so many of those who have small lots by the sea as will resign the land beyond East River shall have six acres for every single person, eight for a man and his wife, and one for every child, at the end of the great plain, in lieu thereof.

This offer, however, of twice the amount of land does not appear to have had much persuasive force; for it was not till many years later that John Sackett was on the ground as the pioneer. Still later, in March, 1663-64, Matthew Gilbert obtained a grant above the Shepherd's Pen, near the Mill

River, on which to raise fodder for his horses, which was the origin of "Gilbert's Farm," one of the landmarks in after years.

One reason why the lands beyond the Quinnipiac were so much preferred may have been the presence of the Indian village on Fort Hill with the reservations belonging to it. For the English pioneers in a strange land, with whose ways they were wholly unacquainted, it was of no little advantage to have a community of friendly natives near by, to whom they could run for information and help whenever they found themselves in a tight place. These natives were perfectly at home on the ground and knew the things that strangers must learn if they were to make a living; how to raise corn, how to paddle a canoe, to range the forests without losing their way, to hunt and trap wild animals, to catch fish, to gather herbs and roots for medicinal uses, and a hundred other things. What wonder that these people from London and other parts of England thought it better to be in the neighborhood of such serviceable friends than off alone in a spot like the Shepherd's Pen?

With the growth of population on the east side of the Quinnipiac and the general traffic with the Indian village, it became desirable to have some means of passing over the river from one side to the other as required. This led to the establishment of a regular ferry, in 1645, which was maintained by Francis Brown, one of the pioneers who had lived there through the winter before the settlement was made. He ran the ferry for five years and then sold it to George Pardee, who had been his apprentice in a tailoring business which he carried on besides his ferry. Pardee built himself a house, and, in 1670, was granted the ferry farm on the east side of the river, which has continued in the Pardee family down to recent times.

Another enterprise that helped the prosperity of the people beyond the river was the starting of the Iron Works at the outlet of Saltonstall Lake. This was a project of Stephen Goodyear, in which he employed John Cooper as agent, and had the coöperation of people at Branford. Bog ore had been

found in a swamp which lies above Montowese, and this was carried to the Iron Works, where it was smelted and put into form for the practical use of the colony. This manufactory was kept up for twenty-five years, from 1655 to 1680, when a grist mill was started to take its place. Governor Eaton had a large farm some two miles north of the Iron Works, besides the one above East Rock. He also had land in the "fresh meadow" which seems to have been near the center of East Haven as it is now. William Tuttle, Benjamin Linge, Matthew Moulthrop, and Ellis Mew had land near by, and John Potter obtained a piece to set a blacksmith shop on. As Davenport, Eaton, and Goodyear had such important interests in this part of the town, others came as a matter of course. All up and down the east side of the Quinnipiac, as far as North Haven, the lands were occupied and built upon by steadily increasing numbers.

In strong contrast was the opposite side of the town, where now are Westville, Allingtown, and West Haven. One of the early homesteads was that of William Pringle (or Prindle) who owned a large farm on the Milford line, "in that part called Holmes' Race." In 1681, he deeded a piece of ground to his neighbor, John Umberfield, and not long after made other deeds to Henry Glover and John Smith. He died in 1697, after which his son, Joseph Prindle, was prominent in affairs. The removal of the Hertfordshire people to Milford, followed by the failure of Hawkins to join the colony, proved an almost fatal hindrance to the development of the town in this direction.

The New Haven policy of allotting land to settlers was generous, not only in the amounts bestowed, but in the latitude of choice which was allowed. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that looseness and carelessness were allowed. The rules were very definite and their enforcement strict to rigidity. An illustration is to be seen in the case of Thomas Fugill, the secretary of the jurisdiction, and a man of high position. He was granted, at his own request, his proportion of twenty-four acres in the Second Division, in clear ground at the foot of West Rock. He undertook in a

quiet way to increase his amount and staked out fifty-two acres; besides this, he was not particular to keep outside the two-mile line, but took in some two-thirds of an acre of First Division land. Investigation revealed what he had been doing, and neither his standing in the community nor his many services to the colony were allowed to work the least palliation of his offence. He was put out of office, excluded from the church, and subjected to such odium that he left the town to seek a place of hiding where his story was unknown. Perhaps this pitiable occurrence had something to do with the punctilious observance of rules and mathematical exactness that characterized allotments in all the subsequent divisions. No one afterward is known to have tried Fugill's experiment.

In 1667, the town of New Haven asked permission of the Connecticut General Assembly "to make a village on the East River," and, in 1670, after the settlement of Wallingford had been effected, the Court confirmed to the town of Wallingford the territory assigned and set off for that purpose. By this action all the northern part of the territory of New Haven, including what is now covered by the two towns of Wallingford and Cheshire, passed under the jurisdiction of Wallingford, to be allotted by a system of divisions, on a plan similar to the one followed in the original colony.

VI.

Land Apportionments.

THE public lands of the town of New Haven were apportioned among the people from time to time according to the outlines presented in the following table:

	When ordered	*Acres*	*Shares*
First Division	January, 1640	5,601	123
Second Division	October, 1640	8,253	123
Third Division	December, 1680	8,323	213
Fourth Division	April, 1704	3,616	354
Fifth Division	March, 1710-11	9,745	416
Sixth Division	January, 1726-27	4,872	340
Seventh Division	March, 1737-38	2,436	372
*Eighth Division	March, 1753	2,350	398
†Ninth Division	July, 1760	550	362

In February, 1671-72, action was taken for defining the town commons.

In March, 1674-75, the commons were specified.

In 1701-02, a more explicit statement of the commons was made under the term, Sequestered Lands.

In April, 1704, in connection with the Fourth Division, the proportion of the Sequestered Lands belonging to each of the proprietors was definitely stated.

The amount of such lands was 7,233 acres, shares 354.

These lands were eventually allotted as follows:

First Division of Sequestered Lands, March, 1713.

Second Division of Sequestered Lands, November, 1713.

Third Division of Sequestered Lands, December, 1721.

The allotments of Sequestered Lands were modified by circumstances in some neighborhoods.

The total amount of these public lands was less than that

* Completed June, 1756.

† Completed December, 1767.

sometimes embraced in a single farm. The value of the land for agriculture was by no means high. Yet so careful was the process of distribution that it was carried out through twelve separate surveys and allotments extending over a period of 127 years, beginning in 1640 and ending in 1767. This shows what the founders of New Haven and their immediate successors thought of the tracts they bought from the Indians.

It is worth while to look somewhat particularly into the manner of this New Haven experiment. The aim was the establishment of a well-ordered commonwealth, to bring about which each citizen had his part to play, not for himself first, but first for the state. Personal affairs were secondary; the common good supreme. Eaton, Davenport, and Goodyear were allotted large tracts of land, not for each of them to make money out of, but for them to handle in such a way as to surround the village with prosperous farms, to the advantage of everybody. The individual was forbidden to buy land, except with the town's approval, because private interests must bow always to the public welfare. When Lamberton wanted a few rods addition to his lot "for a yard to his cellar by the West Creek," it was granted with the proviso that the town might buy it back at a reasonable price whenever needed. When some wood choppers were getting reckless with the timber, it was ordered that "if any shall cut a tree without leave where the spruce masts grow, he shall pay twenty shillings fine for every default." When Abraham Doolittle asked for twenty acres of land above Bog Mine Brook, he was granted half the amount for twenty-one years, with the understanding that he was to pay rates on it. When Lieutenant John Nash applied for the "fresh meadow" on the further side of West River, it was objected that a village might grow up at Holmes' Race, in which case it would be needed. When Matthew Gilbert, in 1678, asked of the town a bit of ground for his son-in-law, Robert Augur, to build a house upon, the question had to be debated in three town meetings before a favorable decision was given. Townsmen, fence-viewers, and committees were con-

stantly on the lookout against any wasteful practice or harmful legislation that might impair the domains of public land.

One can better understand this watchfulness, if some thought is given to the manifold benefits derived from the commons, or sequestered lands, which were not true commons, as in England, but lands owned by the proprietors and held in undivided severalty. The habits of the people, brought from their homes in England, led to an employment of the commons in ways so many and so various as to make private ownership less necessary than it afterward became, if not less desirable. People herded their cattle in public pastures. Sheep were tended by shepherds in open fields among the hills, and swine ran at large in forests where they grew fat on nuts and acorns. Timber and wood could be had from the common fields; and where the land was arable, the people might raise crops. This was touched on at the beginning of the previous chapter.

The commons, therefore, received a good deal of attention in the business of the town. The call for an enlargement of common lands seems to have become urgent before there was much desire for increased private holdings. The pastures became too small for the number of their cows and oxen. The spreading out of the people beyond the Quinnipiac and into the valley beyond West Rock made the old pastures inaccessible to many. More commons were needed, and commons in other neighborhoods. This was the talk in town meeting in 1671-72. A committee was then appointed to consider three things: the laying out of commons, the buying of new lands from the Indians, and the mapping out of territory for another division. In November, 1674, a large tract of land, including Lebanon swamp, in the present town of Woodbridge, was bought of the Indians. A month later, in "the business about common lands":

> it was propounded that the land that is capable of improvement be divided, and that lands that are rocky and incapable of improvement be common, and that before any division is made, a portion of land be appointed for the common of the town.

In the following March, a report was received and adopted, containing this provision:

For commons, that the lands between Mill River and East River (without the ox-pasture and lands of proprietors) lie for a standing common for the town, and to extend so high northward as the brook above the Shepherd's Plain and where the path runs over the brook, a line westward, or west by north as upon trial may be found, a line that will run one mile above John Sackett's, or more as the committee judgeth; also that other suitable tracts of land in the several parts of the township be passed out for commons by a committee appointed by the town for that purpose; and the same committee to view what lands are fit to be laid out to proprietors.

Immediately after this, a war with Indians came on and absorbed attention to the exclusion of these land questions. When the subject was taken up again, in 1679, the Third Division was ordered and carried out. Then, in 1701-02, in connection with the Fourth Division, a distinct definition of the Sequestered Lands was made, the number of acres carefully ascertained, and the proportion belonging to each of the several proprietors authoritatively stated.* The statement thus made became the basis for the Fourth Division, the amount of land then apportioned to the proprietors being half the amount of their Sequestered Land. On this account the Fourth Division was often called the "Half Division."

A layout of the Sequestered Lands, in 1709, describes them as being in six different localities: the first between Mill River and West River; the second in the West Haven neighborhood toward Oyster River; the third beyond West Rock in the vicinity of Sperry's Farm; the fourth in East Haven; the fifth in the region of Montowese; and the sixth above Muddy River in the hills east of Bog Mine Swamp. Evidently, these lands were such as had not been especially desired for private holdings in the early apportionments. They were so widely distributed, when marked out as com-

* This shows that the Sequestered Lands were not mere commons, but were held in undivided severalty. The only true "common" that New Haven had was the "Green."—C. M. Andrews.

mons, that the people living in the several parts of the town could be well accommodated. At a later date, in 1718, after the old Sequestered Lands had come under process of apportionment, an order was passed for a new sequestration, to include West Rock from near Wintergreen Lake to High Rock, and the western half of the Blue Hills, to be "for commons forever for a sheep pasture." In process of time, however, these rocky wilds, like other fields, were apportioned to the proprietors.

When preparation was going on for the Third Division, which came off in 1680, an effort was made to have proprietors examine their titles, find the exact bounds of their holdings, and have records placed on the town clerk's books. After the proposal, some eight or nine years went by before action was taken, quite time enough for getting ready. Men who had not received allotments which were due them in any particular place applied to the town to have the surveyor lay them out. Some, the boundaries of whose land were not clear, asked to have them defined. Some whose lands were inconveniently located or were otherwise unsatisfactory petitioned for an exchange to more desirable ground. And some who hoped that an application for citizenship might be accepted sought the offices of persons of influence to present their claims to the town. All these proposals were heard in town meeting, were then referred usually to a committee, after which they might be discussed and passed upon. In recording titles, it was sometimes convenient not to specify the original grant, but to make entry of "having been in quiet possession for a number of years—according to law," saving in this way the trouble of investigation. Robert Foote, who owned land on the Plains, took this course, and on the same day deeded the property to Edmund Dorman. Roger Alling entered some ten parcels of land in this manner.

The people were in no hurry for the Third Division, or it would not have been so many years after the project was started before it was carried into effect. When at length the apportionment was taken in hand, it was not altogether popular. The townsmen made this statement in December,

1681, after the decision had been made and before the work was done:

> That some of the people were dissatisfied because the division was not going on, as they wanted the land to use; while others did not desire the layout, and said they would not pay for it when it was made.

It was then voted that the land should be responsible for the cost of laying it out, and the apportionment proceeded.

This Division had to do, however, only with good lands, those "capable of improvement," as stated in the order. In the case of the Second Division, the process had been one of selecting places that seemed most desirable. It was the same again, only there was more available attractive land, and more people who wanted to own it. Now also, as before, individual choices depended largely on locality and personal advantage. There was a twofold plan in the earlier divisions; the people living on the east side had their allotments in the east part of the town and northward; while those on the west side had theirs to the south and west. The Third Division was on a similar plan. For those on the west side, apportionments began with the harbor, on the further side of West River, followed along the shore to Oyster River, then up the Milford line and over to Mill River. For those on the east side, they began on the ridge above East Rock, followed up by the Quinnipiac to the Blue Hills, then down by Mill River, taking the fit lands between the rivers, and then across to the east side of the Quinnipiac going northward to the Wallingford line. East Haven people had a separate allotment by themselves.

In this Division, it was stipulated that, while the proprietors might improve their new lands as they saw fit:

> No one should go out to live on them in settled dwellings, except by particular approval of the town; as they were too remote for attending worship on the sabbath and were liable to damage from the heathen.

No specifications were made for roads, so that these lands were not easily accessible, and most of them were unsuitable

for building upon. They were practically wild lands, and wild they were expected to continue. Is it any wonder that many of the people did not care for allotments? They already had the commons, looked after by the town officers; what could they do with new allotments, except pay taxes on them? Now it is interesting to observe to what extent the allotments were taken. The number of proprietors was two hundred and thirteen. Most allotments were twenty acres or more, some less than that, one, two hundred acres; the whole amount being eighty-three hundred and twenty-three acres. The town ordered that all persons who had land in the Third Division should have the surveyor's statement recorded within twelve months. Going to the town records, one finds twenty-seven entries, no more. In keeping with this, few sales are recorded of Third Division lands, indicating that there was not much market for them; whereas in later divisions, such as the Fifth and Sixth, there was a deal of bargaining, much of it for speculative purposes. It seems likely, then, that a large part of the lands marked out for this Third Division was not appropriated. Those who wanted land had it laid out to them, most of them probably where they chose. Those who did not want it were not required to have it. Time was given for making up their minds, and eventually some woke up to their opportunity. There is every reason to suppose, however, that much of the land was left with the town and went to make up the quota of later apportionments.

The twenty years that followed brought many changes. Roads were opened where required. Newly allotted lands were put under cultivation. Some of the bolder people ventured to build houses further from the center. In 1683, a fresh purchase of territory from the Indians brought into possession of the town lands lying in the direction of Derby. Demand increased for ground to raise crops upon, so that about forty acres of the Ox Pasture were leased for seven years to a company which planted them with corn. Encroachments on the undivided lands became serious, and the town had to make more specific rules to save valuable timber and

to protect the growth of young trees. All these things worked in the interest of more private ownership, which led to the apportionment of the Sequestered Lands and the allotments of the Fourth Division. The business was better done than in the Third Division. Highways were laid out to accommodate the lots, which were put in regular tiers and bounded with exactness, to be recorded in the archives. The chance for individual selection was less and there was not so much room for procrastination.

The Fifth Division followed about six years after the Fourth. The purpose this time was to lay out all the undivided lands suitable for ploughing or pasture, and it was estimated that there was enough to give each proprietor three times as much as in the Fourth Division. About three quarters of this was beyond the West River and West Rock, while the other quarter was east of the West Rock ridge. An important item in this Division was a reservation of land for public uses, establishing a precedent that was followed at a later time.

After the Fifth Division, allotments of the Sequestered Lands, in 1713 and 1721, kept the proprietors busy for some time; till, in 1726-27, seeing there was considerable land of some value left, they decided on having a Sixth Division. They began this by assigning allotments "for public and pious uses as had been done before." Funds were thus established for maintaining the ministry in three parishes already existing, and in three others that were likely to be formed in several parts of the town. Provision was also made for supporting the grammar school. It was decided to make individual shares half as large as in the Fifth Division, it being understood that proprietors might have scraps of public land adjoining their own laid out in their allotments, before the general drawing. To each of the three ministers was granted a lot of twenty acres. Particular care was taken to provide convenient highways as before. Most of these Sixth Division lands were in the northern half of the present town of Hamden, though some were east of the Quinnipiac.

Some public lands still remained, and after about ten

years it was decided to have a Seventh Division, with allotment to each proprietor of half the amount assigned in the Sixth. For fear that the land might not hold out, it was agreed that any lack should be made up out of the public treasury at the rate of twenty shillings to an acre. These lands were in small parcels, pieces skipped in previous allotments and lying in all parts of the town.

So far from the lands falling short, there was quite an amount left, so that there could be an Eighth Division, with allotments equal to those of the Seventh. This was fifteen years later and land had risen in value. These allotments were largely on the rocky eminences, East Rock, West Rock, Pine Rock, Mill Rock, and the Blue Hills; but they did not take in the whole of these heights. Provision was again made to provide necessary highways and to meet any shortage with money from the treasury.

Finally, a Ninth Division was decided on in 1760, on a different plan; the available lands were all appraised and each proprietor was given his share at the rate of eight shillings an acre.

Note: The view from the Cheshire border affords a glimpse of the fields above the Steps, where lay the homesteads of the Bradleys and Tuttles, of Daniel Sperry, Wait Chatterton, Lazarus Ives, John Hitchcock, Ralph Lines, and Samuel Dickerman, whose families crowded into the Cheshire meeting-house to hear the preaching of the Reverend Samuel Hall before the Mount Carmel parish was instituted. Here was the home of Baszel Munson, where President Stiles made his visit, and saw the wonderful "Gig Mill," spoken of in his Diary. This, too, was the part of the parish from which wandered forth the larger number of those resourceful pioneers who planted a fresh crop of homesteads in Litchfield, Berkshire, Vermont, Pennsylvania, New York, and elsewhere.

VII.

Scattered Homesteads.

THE action taken in the Sixth Division, providing maintenance for three prospective churches besides the three then existing, indicates that in 1727, the remoter parts of the town were being occupied to such an extent that plans could be made to form them into parishes at no distant time. East Haven had become a community by itself with a church of its own, so that it was left out of account. Besides the original parent church, deriving its support from the town, there was one in the North East Parish, now North Haven, formed in 1718, and another in the West-Side Parish, now West Haven, formed in 1719; these were first considered. Then, in anticipation of future requirements, provision was made which ultimately became available for the Parish of Amity, now Woodbridge, where the church was instituted in 1742; for the Second Parish of Amity, now Bethany, where the church was formed in 1763; and for the Mount Carmel Parish, where the church was formed in 1764. This action of the town had in mind more than the maintenance of worship and the ordinances of religion, for which the church is responsible in modern usage; the purpose was a community organization for the benefit of everyone within its boundaries, a church-state, as it was called in the ecclesiastical parlance of the times.

In the accounts which follow, particular attention is given to the part of the old town which lies north of New Haven center, in the valley extending to Wallingford and Cheshire. The old parish of Mount Carmel had for its southern boundary a line running westward from the spot where Shepherd's Brook enters Mill River to the top of West Rock; the other boundaries coinciding with those of the present town of Hamden. Within this territory no evidence is found of permanent dwellings or other substantial buildings previous to about 1720. While lands in the southern portion

had passed into private hands and were used for pasturage, logging, and other purposes, most of the region remained as public lands till 1727, when it was distributed in the Sixth Division.

Nehemiah Smith's venture with his sheep, before 1650, was a bold approach toward this wild country, but he hardly went beyond the brook which was named for him, and he found the life there so hard that he did not care to stay many years. Matthew Gilbert's venture, in 1664, went beyond the brook and became permanent. The forty acres granted him by the town for his horses remained in his possession as long as he lived and were then passed on to his children to be kept in the family for many generations. On this account the term "Shepherd's Pen" went out of use and the neighborhood came to be known as "Gilbert's Farm." Adjacent lands were added to the original grant and the farm gained a prestige that made the country around more desirable. Some allotments of the Third Division were near here and the Gilberts had their share in them; for, in 1704, seventy-eight acres of Third Division land was divided among the sons, Matthew, Samuel, and John, and a grandson, Thomas Gilbert. North of this farm, John Goodyear had a tract of land in the same Division; next on the north of the Goodyear tract, fifty acres were allotted to Noadiah Russell; beyond that, there was an allotment to Abraham Dickerman. Russell had studied for the ministry and became pastor of the church in Middletown; so he sold his land to William Thompson. Between John Goodyear's and the river was a tract belonging to Stephen Whitehead, 2d, whose daughter Sarah married Leverett Hubbard. Others who owned ground adjacent to Gilbert's Farm were Thomas Morris, John Prout, William Johnson, and Obadiah Hotchkiss. None of these, however, so far as known, lived on the land in those early times.

Some allotments of the Fourth Division, and some of the Third Division of Sequestered Lands, were in this neighborhood. To the northwest were some Fifth Division allotments, and thence Sixth Division lands up to Cheshire. In the later Divisions there were also lands in this region. Thus

there came to be many owners of land in this neighborhood, with an increase in their numbers from time to time. A large part of these owners had no use for the land except to dispose of it on the best terms they could make. So the chances to buy were always abundant and when the times grew ripe for settlement, one could easily secure for himself such a spot as he wished. Those, too, who wished for large holdings found little difficulty in getting adjacent lands to add to their own allotments. In this way some hundreds of allotments were absorbed by degrees into a few score estates.

Among the earliest to build homesteads was Enos Pardee, who had lived before in the western part of the town on Milford road. In January, 1719-20, he sold his house and other property in that locality and bought a tract in what is now the heart of Centerville, forty acres from Abigail Goodyear and twenty-seven acres from Obadiah Hotchkiss. He probably built a house there as soon as he could and made it his home from that time on. He had a large family and his descendants still live near the old place. Another of the early settlers was Thomas Leek, 2d, who bought property to the west of the Gilbert lands, built a house, and came there to live in 1719. His descendants also live upon the same ground to this day. Not far from his property was that of Benjamin Warner, 2d, who is mentioned in the land records in 1725; and whose house is referred to in 1732 as a recognized landmark. From him has come the numerous family that gives to the neighborhood the name of Warnertown. Near Warner's land, as early as 1731, was the property of Samuel Peck. Further to the west, at the spot now known as "Wolcott Falls," Daniel Tolles, in 1733, sold about twenty acres of ground to Noah Wolcott, who then moved up from the Plains and made it the home of his family, some of whom lived in that vicinity till recent times.

And now there began to be settlements "above the Blue Hills." The part of Wallingford which is now Cheshire had proved attractive to many of the Wallingford people and a prosperous community was growing up there. This no doubt had some influence in bringing people to this neighborhood.

The Tuttles, who were very early on the ground, had been near neighbors of the Doolittles in North Haven and several marriages had united the two families very intimately; as a family of Doolittles lived in Cheshire, it was natural for the Tuttles to wish to be near them when they ventured out into a new country. At the town meeting, March 9, 1723-24, Nathaniel Yale was allowed to have his Sixth Division allotment "adjoin three acres of land recently granted him near the Blue Hills"; and John and Joseph Bassett were "entitled to take theirs between Mr. Yale's and the river." Then in November, 1729, Daniel Bradley, 2d, bought of Richard Miles sixty acres lying above the Blue Hills, bounded on the west by a country road and on all other sides by undivided land; and about the same time he bought of Theophilus, Andrew, and Nathaniel Goodyear some thirty-four acres more in the same neighborhood, Sixth Division land that had been laid out in the name of their father, John Goodyear; he also bought Sixth Division lands of Nathaniel Kimberley, Enos Stone, Joseph Ives, and three or four other proprietors. He soon built upon the land and came out to live on it. Before very long he was followed by his brother, Amos Bradley, whose farm was immediately north of Daniel's; and by another brother, Moses Bradley, much younger, who obtained land further north, some of which was within the bounds of Cheshire. There was also a nephew, Elisha Bradley, who bought another farm near by and who was followed later by his brother, Stephen Bradley. These settlers all had families and were very influential.

The number of settlers increased rapidly, and they soon began to recognize the necessity of improving their opportunities for church attendance. In 1738, the people of Amity, who were similarly situated, became a distinct parish. The others were not yet ready for this step; but instead they made a move to identify themselves practically with their two neighboring parishes to the east and north. On February 26, 1738-39, a memorial to the General Assembly was prepared by the people in the more southerly parts asking that, for better convenience of worship, they might be attached to

Photo by A. J. Tefft

Looking South from the Cheshire Border

See note on page 54

the North Haven parish; and on April 18, 1739, a similar memorial was drawn up by the people living above the Blue Hills, asking that they might be attached to the parish of Cheshire. In the May following, both petitions were granted and the signers with their households were from this time onward regarded as belonging respectively to the congregations under the care of the Reverend Isaac Stiles and the Reverend Samuel Hall. The signatures affixed to these memorials present an interesting, though by no means complete, catalogue of the householders at that time. Those on the North Haven petition were these:

Nathaniel Goodyear	Enos Pardee	Theophilus Goodyear
Joel Munson	Samuel Peck	Isaac Johnson
Stephen Cooper	Anthony Thompson	Andrew Goodyear
Thomas Morris	Josiah Mansfield	William Payne
Jonathan Ives		Mary Gilbert

And those on the Cheshire petition were these:

Daniel Sperry	Ralph Lines	Abel Matthews
Wait Chatterton	Daniel Bradley	Amos Bradley
John Hitchcock	Daniel Rexford	Lazarus Ives
Enos Tuttle	John Turner	Nathaniel Tuttle
	Jacob Hotchkiss	

As Mill River was the boundary of the North Haven parish, there are no signatures of householders living east of the river; and as some of those about Gilbert's Farm preferred to keep their connection with the old First Church in New Haven, their names do not appear.

The movement of settlers into these new fields was due to the requirements of a fast-growing population. The increase had been by family growth. The people who occupied these lands were native to the soil, sprung by three or four generations from those planters who came up the bay just about a hundred years before and started the colony. The period of early immigration to New England was short, covering hardly more than twenty years; indeed, most of the settlers came within a period of ten years. Then the immigration

stopped and the colonies grew by the multiplication of those on the ground. Still, they grew with great vigor.

In the Register of Births in the New Haven archives, 290 family names are recorded between 1647 and 1754 and under these are the names of 5,954 children. This, of course, is but an incomplete record of those families, for however full the registration in the earlier years while the people were living close about the central village, later on, with the removal of many to a distance, complete registration became impossible. A glance at the record of a few selected families gives some indication of the growth that took place. Such records are to be found in a number of published family histories. Thus, in the history of the descendants of David Atwater, it appears that he had eleven children and sixty-five grandchildren; and twenty-five of these grandchildren, of whom the families are named, show one hundred and sixty-two great-grandchildren. In the same way, we learn that Abraham Doolittle had thirteen children, seventy-three grandchildren, with two hundred and thirty-two recorded great-grandchildren. Samuel Munson had ten children, seventy-one grandchildren, and two hundred and eighty-three recorded in the third generation. William Tuttle is given twelve children, seventy-two grandchildren, and three hundred and twenty-three in the third generation. Richard Sperry had ten children, sixty-six grandchildren, and three hundred and twenty-five or more in the third generation. William Bradley had eight children, fifty-five grandchildren, and two hundred and forty-eight great-grandchildren. These were exceptional families; but most of the families were large, from which it is possible to understand how the descendants of the New Haven planters and the few who joined them from other colonies were able, in the course of a hundred years, to take possession of the surrounding country.

The territory between Gilbert's Farm on the south and Cheshire on the north was late in being occupied. North Haven, Wallingford, and Cheshire had grown into prosperous communities, and Woodbridge on the further side of

West Rock was showing a similar enterprise before the first homestead had been set up beyond Shepherd's Brook. Those who know this region today and love its features of rocky cliff and gently rounded hill, of unnumbered valleys kept ever fresh with flowing springs and winding streams, can tell of many a spot likely to have been dear in former times to the hunter, the herder, and the woodman, who, however, were slow to put their stakes down and build here. So it was left mostly in undivided severalty till the Sixth Division in 1727-28.

Those who started building were young people coming away from their early homes and beginning life by themselves. The old homes were many of them full to overflowing—like hives of bees just before a swarming—and the time was ripe for seeking new abodes. The old home from which Enos Pardee came had in it nine sons and seven daughters, Enos being the oldest of all; and the home of his wife, Abigail Holt, had sheltered two sons and six daughters. The three Goodyears were brothers in a family of eight; Nathaniel Goodyear's wife, Sarah Woodin, was the eldest in a family of five; Theophilus Goodyear's wife, Esther Sperry, was probably from a family of eight; and Andrew Goodyear's wife, Jane Gilbert, had three brothers and two sisters. Joel Munson was one in a family of seven, and his wife, Mary Morris, was one of nine. Anthony Thompson was one of seven, and his wife Sarah Peck, who was a sister of Samuel and Amos Peck, belonged to a family of nine. Thomas Leek was from a family of three sons and four daughters; John Hitchcock from a family of eleven; Wait Chatterton from one of nine; the two Tuttles from a family of seven; and the Bradleys from a family of six.

The life in those old homes had been a rare preparation for making a new home in these rough fields. The young men and women had grown up with ideas that were by no means over-fastidious. They were used to hard work and to many sorts of work; to frugal meals and plain clothes; to little money and to contentment with many things not bought with money. They had lived in an atmosphere of

domestic enjoyments, concerned with care of the house, preparation of food and clothing, and rearing of children, and they had grown up with the ambitions that belong to such a life. Their hearts were set on the things most prized in the best of homes and they had that forward-looking attitude of mind which is instinctive with men and women who have young people about them and love to be with little children.

It is needless to say that the new homes were patterned after those that had been left in town. The very form in which they were built was as similar to the old as conditions would allow. They were set near to some spring of clear water, or to a dashing brook, from which the wants of the house could be supplied. A barn and other farm buildings were added as necessity called for them. Fences were built to inclose the cultivated fields. Orchards of young trees, many apple trees, a few pear trees, two or three peach trees, and one or two plum trees were set out in due time. A choice bit of ground by the house, to the right or the left or in the rear, was set apart for a garden, where vegetables could be grown for the kitchen; and as a spot for flowers—marigolds, peonies, lilies, roses, hollyhocks, larkspurs, and other brilliant masses of color for adornment.

Here, too, the family life of the previous home blossomed again. To the young bridegroom and bride came the dignity of fatherhood and motherhood through the little child crowning their union with its highest joy. In course of time, other children came, till a group of boys and girls made the house and all the place around noisy with their capers and merriment.

When the memorials were presented to the General Assembly for annexation to the parishes of North Haven and Cheshire, the lists of signatures stood for many more people than is shown. All but two or three are names of married men, and represented households. The households in the North Haven group had among them over forty children and the whole number of persons in all of these families was about seventy. The households in the Cheshire list had come

upon the ground more recently and were younger, so that there were not so many children, only about twenty-five, making the number of persons not far from fifty. If we add to these the families who kept their connection with the old church on the Green, the total number of people, men, women, and children, can hardly have been fewer in 1739 than a hundred and fifty. Perhaps this number was swelled by a considerable list of men and women who were employed on the farms and in the several homesteads.

The people were so widely scattered that probably no one at the time would have thought of there being so many. If, however, one could have taken his position on a Sunday morning at the old meeting-house in North Haven and watched the stream of men, women, and children, some on horseback, more on foot, coming over the several paths that led down from the hills at the west, the sight no doubt would have opened his eyes. The *History of Cheshire* has in it some recollections of Amasa Hitchcock's, whose memory reached back nearly to the times of which we are thinking. He gives a list of eighteen men whom he remembered "living within the bounds of what is now Hamden, who constantly attended meeting at Cheshire," and among these are several not named in the memorial, Jonathan Blakeslee, Nathan Alling, Caleb Grannis, John Grannis, John Perkins, Moses Brooks, and Daniel Bradley, Jr. Then he adds: "All these people and their families, seventy years ago and upwards, in pleasant weather filled the meeting-house even to crowding; and in summer time I believe as many as sixty boys sat on the gallery and pulpit stairs, and on a bench before the first seats." This account was written in January, 1823, in the eighty-third year of Mr. Hitchcock's age. It gives a glimpse of the Cheshire congregation in 1740-50 by one who was an actual eyewitness of, and participant in, the worship.

VIII.

Mills, Roads, Fords, and Bridges.

AN immediate want of a pioneer settlement is a mill. The founders of New Haven were quick to see the use that could be made of the falls, at what is now Whitneyville, and hastened to throw a dam across the stream and to build a mill there. On this account, the stream was afterward called "Mill River."

The projectors of the enterprise seem not to have found the mill a paying concern; for, before 1642, they proposed to the town that it be run as a community affair. Instead of this, the town passed an order that no other mill should be built to compete with this one, a protective measure which was continued for some fifty years. A question was also brought up as to the order in which men coming to the mill should have their corn ground, and it was voted to leave this to the discretion of the miller, John Wakefield, and the rule of equity. Another question was, how the mill was to be mended when workmen could not be found, and this was settled by voting that the authorities might "press men for the work." Things went on according to these rulings till 1665, when the mill was burned.

At this juncture, the town entered into an agreement with William Bradley and Christopher Todd to take the property, put up suitable buildings, employ a competent miller, keep the mill in order, and grind corn as it ought to be ground. For this they were to have the water privilege, the dam, and what was left of the old mill, the land belonging with it on this side of the Rock and twenty acres of upland beyond the Rock for the miller to live on, the right to take timber and other materials for rebuilding from the town's lands, a continuance of the right to press workmen for repairs, continued immunity against the building of any other mill that might compete with them, a toll of two quarts of grain for every bushel ground, and, finally, if things were

satisfactory, the sum of one half rate from the several inhabitants. These specifications show how essential the mill was held to be and how generously the people were willing to contribute to its maintenance.

Christopher Todd died in 1686 and William Bradley two years later. Then for a time things did not go so well. In 1692, a proposal was made in town meeting, "for better settlement of the town mill, to attain the ends of grinding, and to prevent entails of law and further trouble." A contract was made with the three sons of Christopher Todd, John, Samuel, and Michael; the name Bradley disappears from the management, and "Todds' Mill" became the designation in common use.

The new contract did not contain the clause forbidding any other mill. This omission was made for a purpose. A scheme was in the air to have another mill. At a town meeting in 1691, before this contract was made, Moses Mansfield broached a project for "building a corn mill on Beaver Brook" near West Rock. Prominent in this enterprise was one of the sons of William Bradley, and there are indications that his father had had a purpose of this sort in his mind many years before; for, in 1680, he bought of the town a tract of seventeen acres at Beaver Pond and, in 1688, made over by gift to his son Abraham the part containing the site for a mill. So, at the very time when the contract was made with the Todd brothers, Abraham Bradley in company with Daniel Hopkins asked of the town the right to build on Beaver Brook pond; and, a few months later, in January, the town granted his request, with a reserved right to add a fulling mill. Bradley at once set about this undertaking, putting up the corn mill and, not very long after, the fulling mill. Hopkins seems to have been a kind of silent partner, for little is heard of his share in the business, and Abraham Bradley was recognized as the proprietor. This was the beginning of manufactures in what is now the village of Westville. In process of time, Bradley's oldest son, John, became an owner of the fulling mill, having for his partner Isaac Jones, who afterward sold his share to John Munson. Then

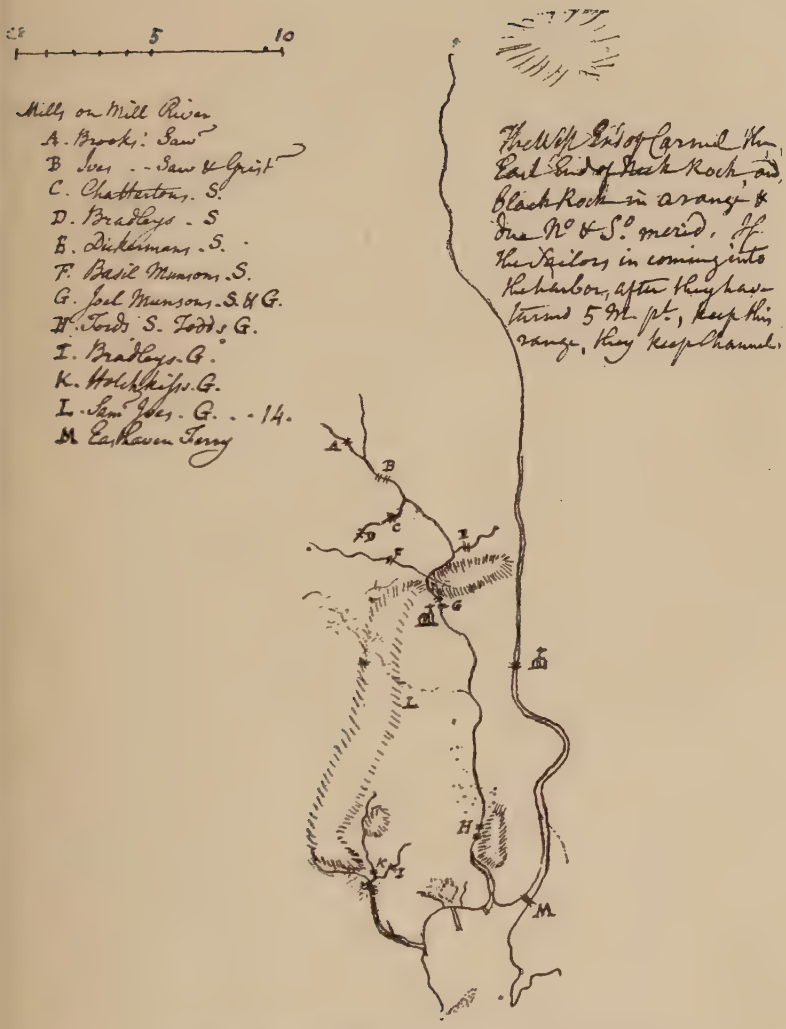
Bradley and Munson put up a new corn mill, and eventually Munson bought Bradley's share of both mills; the old corn mill, however, continuing in the hands of Abraham Bradley till his death in 1718.*

John Munson was a man of various enterprises. In 1717, he conducted the first stage line between New Haven and Hartford. He is spoken of in the records as a maltster. He got up a company to erect a saw mill beyond West Rock, above Sperry's Farm. In 1735, he bought a third part of Todds' mill. His property in the Beaver Pond neighborhood finally went to his son-in-law, Caleb Hotchkiss, from whom the place came to be known for many years as Hotchkissville. He left two sons, John and Joel, the latter of whom played a prominent part in laying foundations at Mount Carmel. Brought up in the mills, he became a master of the business and was especially qualified to undertake an enterprise of this sort in a new field.

The New Haven proprietors were not unmindful of this, when, on September 3, 1733, they granted liberty to Joel Munson to build a dam across Mill River, near the place called "The Steps," to furnish power for a grist mill and a saw mill. Under this grant, the dam was speedily built, grist mill and saw mill soon followed, and from that time until within a few years ago the spot was the scene of a succession of busy industries. The dam is there today, with the pond above it, though it serves now only as a reservoir for the New Haven Water Company.

With the building of the dam and mills, it became necessary to make the place accessible. Until that time, the region thereabout had been utterly wild. The river ran through a gorge, between the steep wall of mountain on the east side and a rugged ledge on the west, which kept its bold features straight across to the high hills beyond the valley. The ledge, like the whole mountain, is a mass of trap dike, the south side of which rises from the alluvial ground below in a series of rough terraces. The terraces now are not very sharply defined, but in former times they rose one above an-

* New Haven Town Records.


5
10
Mills on Mill River
A. Brooks: Saw
B Ives . . Saw & Grist
C. Chatterton. S.
D. Bradleys . S
E. Dickermans . S.
F. Basil Munsons. S.
G. Joel Munsons. S & G.
H. Todds S. Todds G.
I. Bradleys G.
K. Hotchkiss. G.
L. Sam Ives. G. . . 14.
M Eastaven Ferry
The W. pt. E. pt of Carmel the East End of Black Rock, and Black Rock in a range & due N° & S°. meridl. If the Sailors in coming into the harbor, after they have stood 5 Mile pt., keep this range, they keep channel.

President Stiles's Diagram of Mills

Reproduced by permission from Dexter's "Extracts from the Itineraries and Selected Correspondence of Ezra Stiles," published by the Yale University Press

other in clear outline like a flight of stairs, over which people went up or down in going over the ledge. Hence the pass was commonly known as "The Steps," a name that is found continually in old documents, especially in references to the Blue Hills. There was only a footpath over this ledge. Perhaps a horse might make his way over and probably cattle going in single file. Many of the people whom the mills were expected to accommodate lived above the Steps. So, a few weeks after the dam was authorized, the proprietors entered into a further agreement with Munson to give him two acres of land if he would make "a feasible highway over the Steps within ten years." Munson had this undertaking done by the following spring, so that, in April, the committee having the business in charge was able to report that "Joel Munson had made a feasible cart-way over said Steps."*

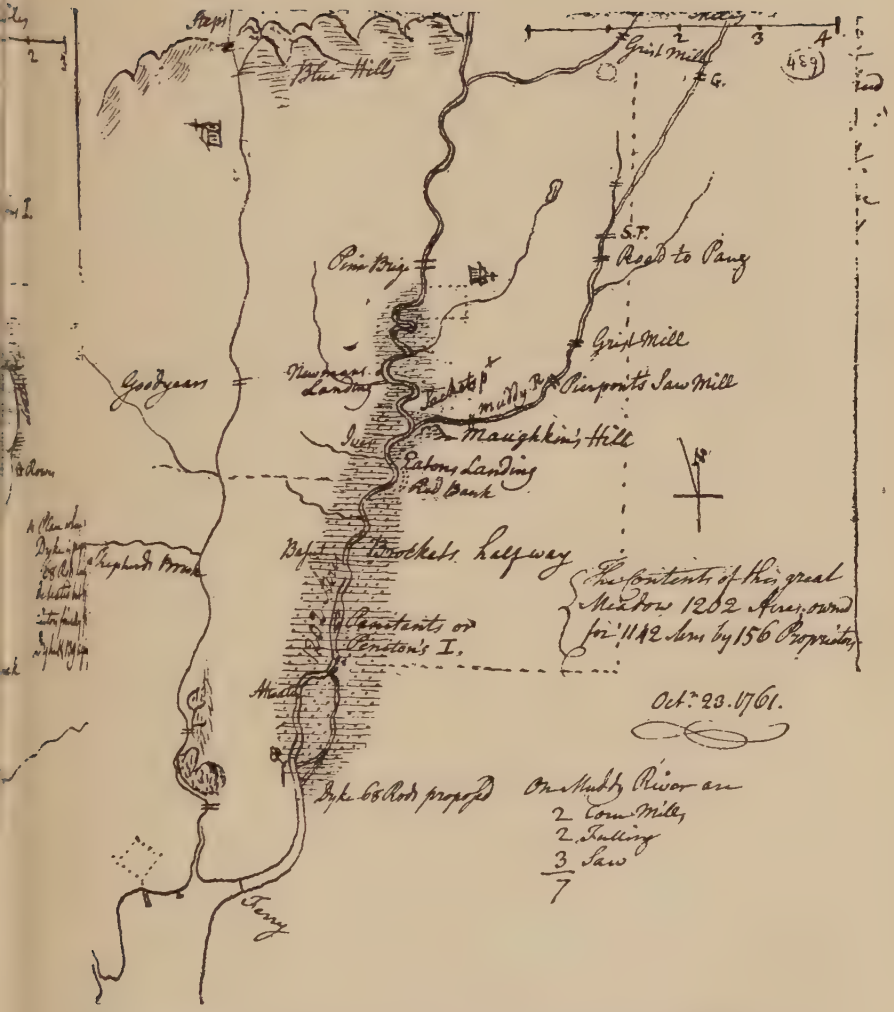
There was not a house then in the whole valley to the south for a number of miles and the paths were not much more than hunters' trails. The travel from Cheshire and Farmington was over a road off to the west, which runs down through the hills to the Gilbert's Farm neighborhood and thence over the Plains to town. But there was seldom a house on this road, though the Sixth Division lots, a large part of them, had been laid out on either side of it. The neighborhood had previously been a long distance from any mill, which had hindered people from settling there. North Haven people could go to a mill at Wharton Brook on the boundary of Wallingford; and there was another at Yalesville, the other side of Wallingford, to which Cheshire people might go. Besides these, there were the two mills at Whitneyville and Westville; but all of these were a good many miles away. Munson's enterprise made a great change. The new mills at the Steps became a center of resort for all the country around. Men brought their logs to be sawed and carried back lumber with which to build them houses and barns. They could now cultivate their ground, knowing where they could get their corn turned into meal and their

* *Munson Records*, p. 627.

wheat into flour to live upon. The number of settlers increased.

An opening of new roads in many directions followed. Most important was the one leading directly down the valley. This was made practicable very early, running down to Centerville and there turning west at a right angle to go over and join the old road near Shepherd's Brook. The farmers coming down from the north found it convenient to stop at the mill and leave their corn; then to continue on to town for marketing; and, on their return, to take the meal home with them. The travel by this route increased rapidly, leading to the development of a good highway; the old road at the same time falling into comparative neglect. Other roads were determined by circumstances. They became especially necessary for getting logs to the saw mill. A sack of corn could be thrown over a horse's back and a child, mounted on it, could drive through the woods to the mill without much of a path. But hauling logs and heavy loads of lumber was another thing. A yoke of oxen and a cart was the usual means of transportation. They had to have some kind of a road, and roads were built for them. Such logging roads, in process of time, grew into highways where highways were needed.

All the new roads converged toward the mills. A glance at an ordinary map of the neighborhood as it is today shows this distinctly. One road along the south side of the mountain makes this connection with Wallingford, while two or three others branch off from it on the south toward North Haven. A road on the north side of the mountain, coming from the east, joins the main highway just above the mill pond. Two other roads, coming from Prospect and Bethany on the west, arrive at the same point. Then, further south, a road from the southwest joins the main highway at the meeting-house; and, a little further down, there is still another, also from the southwest. We cannot now tell how many of these highways started as forest paths to the mill, but we can be sure that all of them played a good part in bringing the people from different neighborhoods to this point of common interest.



President Stiles's Sketch of Quinnipiac Valley

Reproduced by permission from Dexter's "Extracts from the Itineraries and Selected Correspondence of Ezra Stiles," published by the Yale University Press

The mills became a popular resort for various reasons. There were tools there of many kinds and for numerous purposes; usually also someone who was handy with them for all sorts of jobs. In every house, and particularly in a farm house, there is demand for a "Jack of all trades," to mend tools, to contrive expedients, and to get people out of little annoyances too numerous to mention. A mill, if anywhere, is the place to find such a friend in need. Then, trade gravitated there. It was the favorite place for swapping horses and matching steers. There was a store where purchases could be made, for cash, or by barter, or on account, if your credit was good. The miller took his pay mostly in toll and had on hand corn and meal and flour, planks, boards, and lumber in variety. By exchanges with traders in town, he was able also to keep in stock many kinds of merchandise, and to order other articles when desired. In a word, the mill was a market on a small scale. The latest news was to be learned there. What answered for a post office received and delivered letters, and from this center important tidings were circulated through the surrounding country.

The first dwelling-house built was that of Munson. Others came one after another as business grew. The mansion of Samuel Bellamy was early on the ground. Probably it served the purpose of a tavern from the beginning. We know that it was famous in this way afterward. Besides, Bellamy's father had been an inn-keeper in Cheshire, and it was natural that the son should continue in the business. It was a wonderful spot for the purpose, sure of a constant and increasing patronage, especially from people going down from Southington and Cheshire, who must have somewhere to break the journey and get a rest for themselves and their horses or oxen. This was about half-way to the town and so at the best possible point. The Bellamy house was on ground very near where the Mount Carmel railroad station is now seen. It was built about 1743-44 and remained a local landmark for more than a hundred and fifty years. Mr. and Mrs. Bellamy were of such high character as to command general

respect, and their house added much to the growing life of the neighborhood.

About a mile east of the river under the mountain, Ithamar Todd came into possession of several pieces of land in the spring of 1734, and built there soon after. One of these tracts was from John and Elizabeth Merriman of Wallingford "to our son Ithamar Todd." Mrs. Merriman was Todd's mother. She was a daughter of Eleazer and Sarah (Bulkeley) Brown and married Michael Todd. They had nine children, of whom Ithamar was the youngest. After her husband's death, she married Lieutenant Samuel Street, whom she also survived. She married, third, John Merriman. We see, then, that Ithamar Todd's family connections were numerous, in Wallingford as well as in New Haven.

In November, 1737, Lazarus Ives bought two acres of land "above the Steps" and in December his father, Ebenezer Ives, gave him twenty-eight acres more in the same neighborhood adjacent to lands of Joseph Turner, John Hitchcock, and Mrs. Ruth Ives, the widow of Samuel Ives, his uncle. This is especially interesting, in view of the prominence of the Ives family in the later history of Mount Carmel. Mrs. Lazarus Ives was Mabel Punderson, a daughter of Thomas and Lydia (Bradley) Punderson, and a cousin of the Bradley brothers whose homesteads were in the immediate neighborhood.

Three years later, in November, 1740, Lazarus Ives's cousin, Jonathan Ives, a son of Deacon Samuel Ives of North Haven, bought of his brother Samuel seventeen acres of land "lying about a mile below the Steps," bounded on the east by Mill River and on the west by the highway, property in a locality with which the Ives family has been identified ever since. Mrs. Jonathan Ives was Thankful Cooper, a daughter of Joseph and Abigail Cooper of North Haven.

About the same time that Jonathan Ives built his house, the two brothers, Samuel and Jonathan Dickerman, came upon the ground, building their house a little south of Bellamy's tavern, on the east side of the highway where the

The Store at the Steps

The factory at the left formerly stood on the site of Munson's mills

See note on page 72

brook ran across. Apparently, the two brothers lived together here for a while. Then Samuel bought various tracts of land above the Steps, some at Ridge Hill, some adjacent to Amos Bradley's place, and some adjoining Nathaniel Tuttle's, and in due time he moved into that neighborhood, leaving the other homestead to Jonathan.

The rapid growth of travel over the new roads is shown by two incidents that appear in the records. In March, 1760, the proprietors took a bond of Joel Munson to make a good cart bridge over the brook in the highway to Cheshire, referring to the stream that comes down from the western hills and joins the river just above the Steps; and in the following December measures were taken to build a bridge over the river for the road south of the mountain. Before the bridges were built, the streams were crossed by fording, which was easy enough in ordinary times; but when heavy rains or melting snows made a freshet, the passing became dangerous, if not impossible. If a road was little used, people could postpone a trip till the freshet had passed; but with the increases of travel bridges were demanded as absolutely necessary. This, however, did not mean a discontinuance of the ford. The bridge was made over one side of the ford and the rest left as it had been. As the streams had a hard pebbly bottom, it was about as easy to go through them as over a bridge, and it was the habit for oxen and horses to pause and drink as they went across the ford, making it a place of rest and refreshment.

With the passing of years, the new houses became filled with children and the community grew in every way. More ground was cleared of trees and put under cultivation. More stock was raised, cattle, sheep, hogs, and poultry; orchards were set out and apples became a considerable crop, with the natural accompaniment of a cider mill; flax was raised to make up into linen fabrics, as the sheep furnished wool for warmer clothing. Industries multiplied in every homestead. Even the mills could not hold their monopolies. President Stiles, about 1780, writes in his diary of a visit to his brother-in-law, Baszel Munson, and of a new Gig Mill that had just

been started whose performances were such that Stiles wanted to have it more widely known.* This was a different mill from the old one at the Steps; and in another publication Stiles has a diagram to show the location of mills in Mount Carmel, including also Todds' mill and those at Hotchkissville, naming fourteen in all, six grist mills and eight saw mills. This and another diagram of President Stiles's are reproduced for this volume.†

* Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. II, pp. 470-471.
† *Itinerary and Correspondence of Ezra Stiles*, p. 150.

NOTE: The store at the Steps, as shown in the picture, is enlarged from what it was as I knew it in 1850, by inclosing the porch. Hobart Kimberly was then the storekeeper, and the business seems to have come down to him in continuous succession from the trade started with the building of Munson's mills in 1734. Kimberly's ways were about as primitive as the store. It used to be said that he had not been in New Haven for twenty years. Some farmer from up the road, going to town with his load of produce, would stop at the store and take orders for any stock that might be needed, and on the way back would stop again and leave what had been bought. Kimberly's manner of keeping his accounts was equally simple. If a buyer did not want to pay the cash down, he wrote the customer's name with the amount purchased on a bit of wrapping paper and dropped it into a drawer under the counter. When it came to settling up, the case was not so simple and the buyer sometimes had trouble in finding out exactly how much he did owe. If a boy came asking for the bill, Kimberly was likely to say, "What is the hurry about it?" and let him go home without any bill.

IX.

Parish and Church.

As early as 1727, it came to be understood that eventually there would be a new community center "near the Blue Hills," for in the Sixth Division the proprietors set apart fifty acres of land for the support of a minister there when a parish should be formed.

The manner in which settlers came out into this part of the town was not altogether favorable for their uniting in a single separate parish. One neighborhood was about Gilbert's Farm, and another, quite distinct, lay three or four miles to the north, while the country between was mostly unoccupied. The central point for all would have been where no one was living at that time. So the people about Gilbert's Farm found it easier to go over to North Haven for church privileges, and those at the north went up to Cheshire. This usage did not help to bring the two neighborhoods into accord, but tended to keep them separate by affiliation with these other societies.

Then the mills were built at the Steps, Bellamy's tavern followed, and one house after another arose in the vicinity to make a new neighborhood midway between the two so widely distinct. This became at once a center of common interests. Business brought the people into familiar relations almost without their thinking of it and coöperation for mutual benefit had little need to be urged. The turn of events decided where the meeting-house ought to stand and the time had come for the long-expected parish.

In May, 1757, a memorial with many signatures, having the names of Daniel Bradley, Joel Munson, and Israel Sperry at the head of the list, was presented to the General Assembly, setting forth the facts in the case, and asking for the establishment of a distinct ecclesiastical society. The petition was duly considered and in the following October the Assembly instituted the new parish "to be called and known

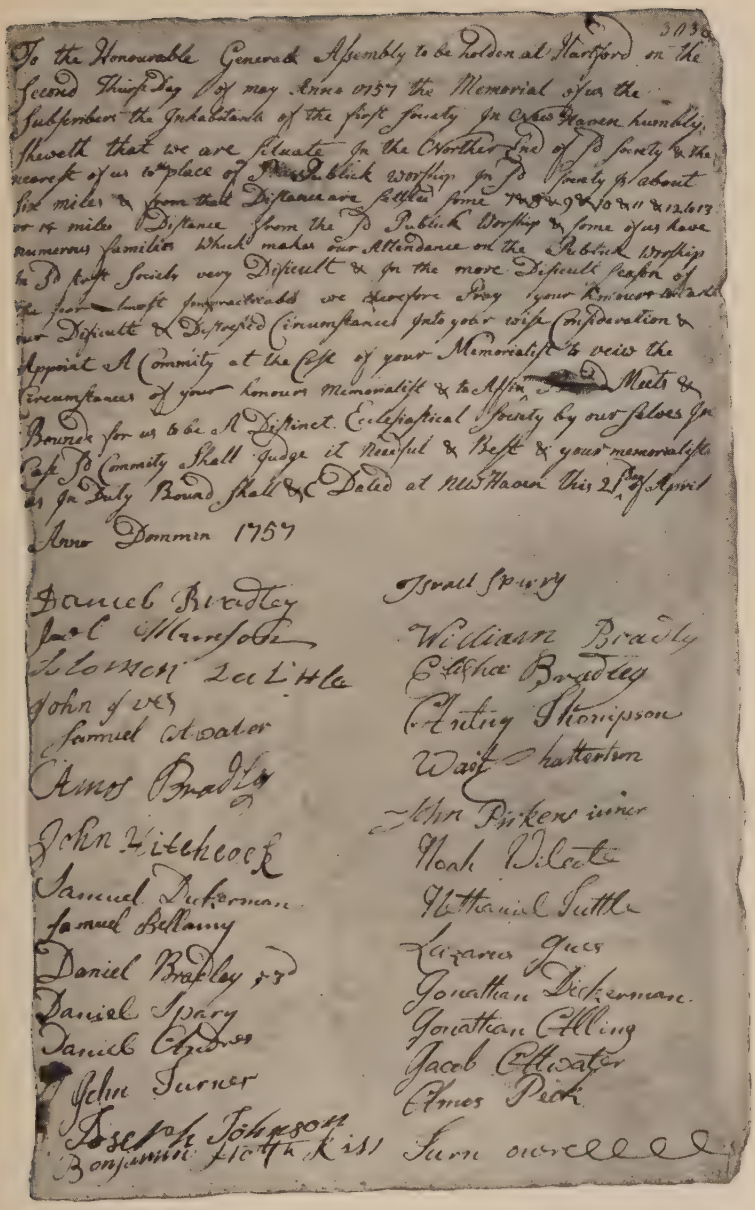
by the name of Mount Carmel." The southern boundary was a line running from the point where Shepherd's Brook falls into Mill River a little north of west to the top of West Rock. The other boundaries coincide with those of the northern part of the present town of Hamden. Thus it covered a territory extending from Cheshire to nearly a mile below the present village of Centerville.

Why the name "Mount Carmel" was chosen no one can tell. Probably because it was a good Bible name and no other seemed better. Heretofore, the mountain range had been commonly known as the "Blue Hills," and this was the term in general use till long after the parish of Mount Carmel lost its identity in the town of Hamden. But of late years the name which the General Assembly gave to an ecclesiastical society has become fastened on the mountain, so that the earlier name is scarcely used at all. So, in this instance, the natural order is reversed; the parish did not get its designation from the mountain, but the mountain from the parish.

Some three months after the action of the General Assembly, on January 21, 1758, the first meeting of the Mount Carmel Ecclesiastical Society was held. The officers chosen were: Clerk, Samuel Atwater; Moderator, Daniel Bradley; Society's Committee, Andrew Goodyear, Samuel Dickerman, and Ithamar Todd; Committee to consult lawyers, Ithamar Todd, Jonathan Alling, and Samuel Bellamy; Collector, Jonathan Ives. The meeting adjourned to meet the second Tuesday of March at the dwelling house of Samuel Bellamy.

At this adjourned meeting, March 14, it was voted to give warning of Society meetings by beating the drum at the north end from Daniel Bradley's house to Elisha Bradley's, and at the south end from Enos Pardee's house to Andrew Goodyear's, the distance in each case being about a quarter of a mile; and to proclaim the time and place at least five days before the meetings. Agents were appointed to represent the Society at the General Assembly.

On November 9, a School Committee was appointed, and



To the Honourable Generall Assembly to be holden at Hartford on the Second Thirsday of may Anno 1757 the Memorial of us the Subscribers the Inhabitants of the first Society in Oxford Woven humbly Sheweth that we are situate in the Northerr End of Sd Society & the nearest of us to place of Sd Publick worship in Sd Society is about six miles & from that Distance are Scatter some 7 8 9 10 & 11 & 12 & 13 or 14 miles Distance from the Sd Publick Worship & some of us have numerous families Which makes our Attendance on the Publick Worship in Sd first Society very Difficult & in the more Difficult Season of the year most impracticable we therefore Pray your Honours to take our Difficult & Disrupted Circumstances into sober consideration & Appoint A Committy at the Cost of your Memorialists to view the Circumstances of your Honours Memorialists & to Assign & Mark Bounds for us to be A Distinct Ecclesiastical Society by our selves in Sd Committy shall Judge it Needful & Best & your memorialists as in Duty Bound shall &c Dated at New Haven this 21st day of April Anno Dommi 1757

Daniel Bradley
Joel Mansfield
Elizur Lee Little
John Ives
Samuel Atwater
Amos Bradley
John Hitchcock
Samuel Dickerman
Samuel Bellamy
Daniel Bradley jr
Daniel Sperry
Daniel Clarke
John Turner
Joseph Johnson
Benjamin North

Israel Sperry
William Bradley
Elisha Bradley
Antony Thompson
Wait Chatterton
John Perkins junr
Noah Dibble
Nathaniel Tuttle
Lazarus Gunn
Jonathan Dickerman
Jonathan Gilling
Jacob Atwater
Amos Peck
Simeon Burrell

Petition for a New Parish

From original in Connecticut State Library at Hartford by courtesy of George S. Godard, Librarian

from this time on such a committee was regularly chosen at stated times.

On December 27, a committee was chosen to take care and get some money, and this was the beginning of the Finance Committee.

January 10, 1759, a committee was chosen to see to the building of a meeting-house: Jason Bradley, Samuel Dickerman, Andrew Goodyear, Elisha Bradley, Noah Wolcott, Jonathan Alling, Stephen Cooper, Jesse Blakeslee, and Solomon Doolittle.

In the following year, the Society lost two of its leading members by death, Samuel Dickerman and Samuel Bellamy. There seems to have been no delay, however, in their undertaking, and on July 3, 1760, a meeting was held at which the meeting-house was reported to be "set up."

March 30, 1761, it was decided to have "occasional preaching as soon as the committee shall think the meeting-house fit" and the committee were directed to "take care and get a candidate." The candidate was soon found in Stephen Hawley, a Yale graduate of 1759, who had been employed three years as college butler, taking his course in theology at the same time, and had been licensed to preach by the New Haven Association of Ministers in May, 1761. Hawley proved acceptable and continued to conduct the services for several months, till, in December, it was voted to settle him as their minister if the terms could be agreed upon. It was also voted to sell the minister's lot belonging to the Society if it should be wanted, and a committee was appointed to confer with Mr. Hawley about the terms of settlement. Apparently this committee and the young minister had no difficulty in coming to an agreement.*

But, just at this point, a difficulty arose from another quarter; it was over the question as to how the minister should be settled, which was a burning question at that time. In the allotment of land for the parishes in 1727, it was specified that it should be "for a Congregational or Presbyterian ministry," leaving open the question as to which of the

* Dexter, *Yale Biographies*, Second Series, pp. 590-591.

two it should be. According to the popular understanding, the question was whether the minister should be ordained by a Council of their own choosing, or by action of the Consociation. To our thought, this may seem a trifling reason for division. But to them, at that particular time, it was far from a trifling reason.*

Their differences of opinion were nothing more than an echo of earnest convictions that were widely prevalent in the churches of Connecticut. For fifty years, the Saybrook Platform had been made the law of procedure, vesting church government in the Association and Consociation and giving to ministers the control of affairs, till rampant abuses provoked revolt. These Mount Carmel people had seen the abuses and not a few were in sympathy with the revolt. That year, 1759, in which they were building their meeting-house, was a memorable year in some of the churches close by. In that year, the White Haven Church, which was not in the Consociation, was given an overwhelming majority in town meeting against the First Church, and the salary which theretofore had been paid always to Mr. Noyes was voted to the Reverend Samuel Bird. To understand the significance of this, one should remember that, a few years before, the Reverend Samuel Finley, who was afterward President of Princeton College, was arrested for preaching to the White Haven people and carried out of the colony as a vagrant. Some of the Mount Carmel people were members of the First Church, and a larger number belonged to the White Haven Church. Is it strange they did not think alike?

There were doings at North Haven too, just at this time, that could not have worked to smooth out such differences. The aged pastor, the Reverend Isaac Stiles, after a long and honored ministry, was spending the later years of his life in a lawsuit against his people.

Then, at Wallingford, 1759 was the year of the famous Dana controversy. The church called James Dana, a Har-

* Parker, "Congregational Separates," N. H. Col. Hist. Soc., *Papers*, Vol. VIII, pp. 158-159.

vard man, to be their pastor and invited a Council to ordain him; whereupon a minority opposed to him called the Consociation, which came and forbade the ordination. The Council denied their right to interfere and went on with the service. The Consociation asked the Hartford Consociation to meet with them in joint convention, and the two declared the relation between Mr. Dana and the church dissolved. A few months later, sentence of non-communion was published against Dana and his church, and the ministers and delegates of the ordaining Council were denounced as "disorderly persons and not fit to sit in any of our ecclesiastical councils."

With things like these going on in the churches right about them, it can hardly be wondered at that the farmer folks of the new parish, as they met in their unfinished meeting-house to talk about getting a minister, were somewhat uncertain as to what it was best to do. What they actually did is found in their records of February 16, 1762. On account of "a difficulty subsisting in the society relative to Mr. Hawley's settlement, with regard to an ordaining council," it was voted "to refer it to three Rev'd gentlemen that are not within the district of New Haven county, namely, Mr. Eliot of Killingworth, Mr. Judson of Newtown and Mr. Pitkin of Farmington." A praiseworthy measure to obtain advice from trusted men who were far removed from the passionate wrangling in their neighborhood! The advice that came back was to apply to the New Haven Association for counsel. This they did, and the way seemed now to be opening for the ordination.

Meanwhile, however, their candidate was lost. Another new society had been formed in what is now Bethany and had asked the Association to recommend a candidate, which resulted in Hawley's receiving a call and accepting it, entering thus on a ministry that continued throughout his life of thirty-five years. A rather costly rebuke of the Mount Carmel people for presuming to think of any other mode of settling a minister than according to the Saybrook Platform!

Nothing remained but to start in again hearing candidates.

During the following autumn, Jesse Ives preached for them a number of Sundays with considerable acceptance. He was a native of Wallingford; a graduate of Yale in 1758; had studied theology with the Reverend John Trumbull of Westbury; and been licensed to preach by the New Haven Association in May, 1760. He had then ministered to the church in Norfolk and received a call to the pastorate, but failed of ordination on account of certain charges of "equivocation and want of seriousness." After he had been at Mount Carmel awhile, the advice of the Association was asked and they counselled the parish "not to proceed until the rumors originating in Litchfield county were cleared up." Nevertheless, on May 5, 1763, the parish voted for him by a majority of fifty-eight against sixteen; but when it was proposed to apply to the moderator of the Association for an ordaining Council, the motion was voted down, and at a subsequent meeting a motion was made and carried that the Society "designed to settle according to Congregational principles." Against this measure, nineteen members registered their protest. Their names indicate the line-up in favor of the Consociation:

Daniel Sperry	Jona. Dickerman	Joel Bradley
Jonathan Alling	Benj. Hotchkiss	Elisha Mallory
Joseph Johnson	Jabez Bradley	Amos Bradley
Joseph Ives	Andrew Goodyear	Benj. Pardee
Isaac Dickerman	Wait Chatterton	Elisha Bradley
Daniel Bradley	Solomon Doolittle	John Munson
	Ebenezer Beach	

A committee to confer with Mr. Ives was as follows: Jonathan Ives, Samuel Atwater, Joel Munson, Simeon Bristol, Stephen Goodyear, and John Hitchcock.

Not long after this action, the Association summoned Ives before it for investigation and suspended his license. In response, the Mount Carmel people voted to "desire Mr. Ives still to preach in their Society." Mr. Ives, however, did not assent to their proposal. The Association was severe with him for a year or two, but eventually restored his license, after

which he was ordained to a pastorate in Pontapaug, now Sprague, in the neighborhood of Norwich.*

It is interesting to note in connection with these two unsuccessful efforts to settle a minister that neither Hawley nor Ives was wholly unrewarded. They seem to have been entertained at the Bellamy house and found its atmosphere so congenial that it became to them a permanent home. Hawley found a wife in the oldest daughter, Mary Bellamy, and Ives followed his example by marrying her sister, Sarah Bellamy. Thus, in after years, they came, sometimes with their children, to visit the scene of those early experiences in which happiness and grief were so strangely mingled.

After the second failure to obtain a pastor, the Mount Carmel people turned their thoughts to a Mr. Fish of Stonington, undoubtedly Eliakim Fish, a Yale graduate of 1760, who was then serving as a surgeon's mate with the Army in Havana. Fish was in college at the same time with Hawley and Ives. He must have known something about their vicissitudes and this may have turned him away from the ministry. He gave no encouragement to the approaches from Mount Carmel, but entered with great earnestness on the calling of a physician, in which he rose to eminence as a practitioner in Hartford.†

It was probably the expectation among the people of Mount Carmel that, when a minister was engaged, the church would be formally instituted at the same time with the ordination. But with the long delay of more than two years, some began to think that the church had better be organized without further waiting. This was so particularly among those who wished the church to be under the Consociation. Several churches in the vicinity were not under the Consociation, not only the White Haven Church, but the one at Branford and another at Guilford. It was plainly possible to follow their example; and the heavy vote, in relation to Mr. Ives, that the Society designed to settle according to Congregational principles, indicated a strong sentiment in

* *Yale Biographies*, Second Series, pp. 541-543.
† *Ibid.*, p. 652.

favor of that course. To forestall such a step, the Consociation party saw that they must do something. So, at a Society meeting, January 23, 1764, they brought the question to a vote whether the church should be at once organized. It was found that ten votes were in favor of it and fifty-two against it. This would seem to have been decisive, according to modern ideas. Not so in those days. On the contrary, the big majority against the proposal seems to have been regarded as reason for putting the business through as soon as possible.

This seems to have been the view also of the Consociation, for only three days after the Society's meeting, January 26, 1764, the representatives of the Consociation, the Reverend Samuel Hall of Cheshire and the Reverend Benjamin Trumbull of North Haven, appeared at the meeting-house in Mount Carmel, on the invitation of several people there, and proceeded to constitute them a church "in strict union and communion with the consociated ministers and churches of the county." These two men, Mr. Hall and Mr. Trumbull, made report in recognition of the church that it was formed of "members of full communion in neighboring churches, mostly of members of the churches of our respective charge." The roll of members was as follows:*

Daniel Sperry c
Andrew Goodyear x
Daniel Bradley c
Wait Chatterton c
Jesse Blakeslee x
Amos Bradley c
Amos Peck c
Solomon Doolittle c
Jonathan Alling
Caleb Andrews c
Benjamin Pardee x
Jonathan Dickerman
Daniel Bradley, Jr. c
Benjamin Hotchkiss c
Nathan Alling c
Elisha Bradley c
Jabez Bradley c
Joseph Ives c
Joel Bradley c
Abraham Chatterton c
John Munson
Isaac Dickerman
David Sperry c
Abigail Bradley (Daniel 2d)

c Previously identified with the church in Cheshire.
x Previously identified with the church in North Haven.

* The names of married women are followed by parentheses enclosing the Christian names of their husbands.

Mary Bradley (Amos)
Mary Dickerman (Samuel)
Ama Alling (Nathan)
Mary Bellamy (Samuel)
Martha Hitchcock (John 2d)
Mabel Bassett (William)
Hannah Pardee (Enos)
Elizabeth Peck (Amos)
Mary Sperry (David)
Jerusha Doolittle (Solomon)
Martha Brooks
Mary Grannis (John)
Joanna Chatterton (Wait)
Esther Bradley (Jabez)
Mary Alling (Nathan 2d)
Mary Bradley (Elisha)
Hannah Goodyear (Jesse)
Abigail Bradley (Daniel 3d)
Lydia Munson (John)
Dinah Sperry
Esther Sperry
Anna Sperry

The number of men enrolled was twenty-three, with an equal number of women. A few months later, in June of the same year, the roll was extended by the addition of seven other men and eleven women:

Baszel Munson
Simeon Bristol
Phinehas Castle
Abner Todd
Samuel Atwater
Stephen Goodyear
Asa Goodyear
Sarah Atwater (Samuel)
Esther Goodyear (Stephen)
Martha Hotchkiss (Benjamin)
Abigail Bradley (Joel)
Elizabeth Ives (Joseph)
Hester Mallory (Elisha)
Mary Todd (Abner)
Mabel Hitchcock
Mary Bristol (Simeon)
Lois Ives (John)
Mehitabel Goodyear (Asa)

The total membership was then sixty-four, quite as large as one could look for after so strong a disapproval of organization at that time as was expressed in the Society's meeting. A number of those who were members of other churches, however, did not transfer their membership; among whom were Joel Munson, Ithamar Todd, John Ives, Lazarus Ives, Jonathan Ives, John Hitchcock, Samuel Hitchcock, Enos Pardee, and Daniel Rexford. These were all men of influence and would have added to the strength of the new church.

There were manifest advantages in having the church started. Even if it was without a pastor, the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper could be administered by visitation from ministers in the neighboring parishes. It be-

came a distinct body also, affiliated with the churches of the commonwealth, and in a way to be profited by their counsel and fellowship. The hope might well be entertained that in course of time the disadvantages of its beginning might be outgrown and forgotten in a genuine prosperity.

The church, however, did not supersede the Society. That body continued to be responsible for parish business and for employing ministers to conduct public worship; only it now became a foregone conclusion that in case of an ordination it would be under the Consociation. But the Society meetings, as before, were not marked with unanimity of thought. About four months after the church was formed, mention was made of a Mr. Royce as having conducted the worship, and a question was raised as to whether he should continue longer; on which forty-four voted in the affirmative and twenty-seven in the negative. Naturally in the face of so large an opposition, he did not continue. In the following spring, April 19, 1765, a special meeting was held at which a committee of twelve was chosen "to confer together and devise some way for accommodation." Two weeks later, it was voted "to desire three Rev'd gentlemen in the District of New Haven, Robbins of Branford, Goodrich of Durham, and Fowler of Guilford, to repair to the society, look into the state of the parish and advise some method of union." Robbins and Fowler were pastors of churches not belonging to any consociation, which might make their voice of especial weight to the people who were dissatisfied. We are not told what was the advice of these gentlemen, nor what were the results of their visit.

During the three years that followed, a succession of eligible candidates, Yale graduates and most of them men of distinction in college, were heard in the pulpit; Theodore Hinsdale,* after whom the town of Hinsdale, Massachusetts, was named; Thomas W. Bray;† John Foot,‡ who afterward had a pastorate of forty-six years in Cheshire;

* *Yale Biographies*, Second Series, pp. 749-750.
† Third Series, pp. 97-99.
‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 120-122.

Austin Punderson, who was also heard by churches in Norwich, Newport, and Montreal, and eventually had a school in Albany; Ebenezer Baldwin,* who became pastor of the church in Danbury and died as a chaplain in the Revolutionary Army; and Samuel Camp,† who had a pastorate of thirty-six years at Ridgefield.

Such was the story of ten years. Then came a refreshing change with the visit of the Reverend Nathaniel Sherman; who was received with universal satisfaction and tendered a hearty call to become pastor of the Mount Carmel Church. He in turn accepted the call, and on May 18, 1768, was duly installed according to the rules and usages of the Consociation; the question of "Congregational principles" having ceased to be of interest.

Mr. Sherman was a younger brother of Roger Sherman, the statesman. The early death of their father brought upon Roger an unusual burden of responsibility for the younger children in the family, which was large. It is said that he showed particular interest in their education and gave his two brothers, Nathaniel and Josiah, personal assistance which enabled them to have a course in college, a privilege which he himself had not enjoyed. Nathaniel was graduated at Princeton in 1752. Josiah also was a graduate of Princeton. Both studied theology and became ministers of neighboring churches in Massachusetts, Nathaniel at Bedford and Josiah at Woburn. Nathaniel continued at Bedford twelve years, having a fruitful and honored ministry.

It is not surprising that the Mount Carmel people responded favorably to the opportunity of obtaining such a man for their pastor. The previous candidates had been young men recently in college, Yale men, too, all of one particular type. Here was one who had been through a different training. He was also mature, with experience which gave him knowledge of men and things, invaluable qualifications. Moreover, he was from a distance and had not been in any way mixed up with the New Haven Association or the Con-

* *Yale Biographies*, Third Series, pp. 4-8.
† *Ibid.*, pp. 63-65.

sociation. Besides, he was a brother of Roger Sherman, who had lived in New Haven for six or seven years and was widely known for his wisdom and ability. No doubt there was a general feeling among the people and their well-wishers in neighboring parishes that, at length, after so long a period of turbulence and disappointment, new conditions were at hand, in which the community would be happily united in a prosperous church.

Appendix.

Roll of Officers of the Mount Carmel Ecclesiastical Society.

A LIST of names has been compiled from the old record book of the Mount Carmel Ecclesiastical Society, beginning in 1758, and ending in 1827. The dates immediately following a name, which have been gathered from other sources, give the year of birth and that of death. The number of sons and daughters in a family is also shown at the end of the line. The letters after the dates show the official positions to which the person was chosen by the Society: A, presiding officer; C, clerk; X, standing committee; F, financial committee; B, building committee; D, collector; E, school committee; M, music committee; L, committee to visit the legislature; P, committee on pulpit supply; S, special committee; T, treasurer. The list does not cover the whole membership, but only those elected to office. The date preceding a name indicates the first Society meeting at which the name is mentioned.

	Sons	*Daughters*
Jan. 31, 1758. Samuel Atwater, 1718-1793. Capt. C X F E S P M	9	4
Jan. 31, 1758. Daniel Bradley, 1706-1773. Capt. Deacon. A L S E B D F	5	1
Jan. 31, 1758. Andrew Goodyear, 1702-1781. X E B S	2	4
Jan. 31, 1758. Samuel Dickerman, 1716-1760. X B D S	5	6
Jan. 31, 1758. Ithamar Todd, 1712-1800. X S A	5	4
Jan. 31, 1758. Jonathan Alling, 1716-1771. S B P X L	5	2
Jan. 31, 1758. Samuel Bellamy, 1721-1760. S	2	6

	Sons	*Daughters*
Jan. 31, 1758. Jonathan Ives, 1716-1792. Capt. D L E S P X F M	4	4
March 10, 1758. Jason Bradley, 1708-1768. Capt. L A B S E M	0	0
Nov. 9, 1758. Joel Munson, 1702-1775? E D P L S	3	4
Nov. 9, 1758. Jonathan Dickerman, 1719-1795. Lieut. P X S D E M	5	2
Dec. 27, 1758. Stephen Cooper 1712-1791. B F S	3	2
Jan. 10, 1759. Noah Woolcut, 1701-1785. B	3	3
Jan. 10, 1759. Elisha Bradley, 1732-1815. B S D E X L	6	5
Jan. 10, 1759. Jesse Blaksley, 1710-1772. Lieut. B A	4	3
Jan. 10, 1759. Solomon Doolittle, 1713- . B	3	2
Dec. 5, 1759. Amos Bradley, 1712-1775. Lieut. X S P D	3	6
June 6, 1760. Daniel Bradley, Jr., 1728-1821. B D X S C A F	5	2
Dec. 23, 1760. Wait Chatterton, 1709-1793. E S	4	5
Jan. 14, 1761. Benjamin Pardee, 1719-1776. D E	3	7
June 29, 1761. Stephen Goodyear, 1729-1803. Dea D S P X M	6	7
Jan. 25, 1763. Theophilus Goodyear, 1731-1793. D X E S L	8	2
May 5, 1763. Simeon Bristol, 1739-1805. S P X F A	4	2
May 5, 1763. James Ives, 1718-1804. Sergt. A	4	4
May 5, 1763. Jacob Atwater, 1721-1799. E S D B M	6	5
May 5, 1763. Dan Carrington, 1730-1772. E	3	5
May 19, 1763. Daniel Sperry, 1698-1768. D	3	8
May 19, 1763. Joseph Johnson, 1725-1803. D	3	9
May 19, 1763. Benjamin Hotchkiss, 1730-1803.	3	4
May 19, 1763. Ebenezer Beach, 1728-1799.	0	2
May 19, 1763. Joseph Ives, 1740-1768. Sergt. E	0	4
May 19, 1763. Jabez Bradley, 1737-1793. E D X	3	7
May 19, 1763. Joel Bradley, 1738-1801. X E	6	3
May 19, 1763. John Munson, 1731-1808.	5	2
May 19, 1763. Isaac Dickerman, 1740-1801. D E X S F	7	2
May 19, 1763. Elisha Mallory, 1736-1812.	5	6
May 19, 1763. John Hitchcock, 1709-1764. S P E	5	5
Dec. 4, 1764. Abraham Gilbert, 1720-1798. E	2	0
Dec. 4, 1764. David Sperry, 1741-before 1804. E X D	8	4
Apr. 19, 1765. Asa Goodyear, 1733-1811. S E X D	1	3
Apr. 19, 1765. Amos Peck, 1713-1783. S X	5	7
Dec. 3, 1765. David Alling, 1724-1794. S X	4	4
Dec. 2, 1766. Alvan Bradley, 1734-1810. D M S E	5	5
Jan. 30, 1767. Samuel Hitchcock, 1713-1785. D	4	4
May 5, 1767. Baszel Munson, 1730-1803. F S X L D A	4	3

	Sons	*Daughters*
May 5, 1767. Abner Todd, 1738-1805. D S X	4	5
June 30, 1767. James Alling, 1702-1784.	2	2
June 30, 1767. Daniel Rexford, 1711-1799.	3	2
June 30, 1767. Gamaliel Bradley, 1733-1803. D E	4	5
June 30, 1767. Jeremiah Ives, 1738-1825. E	2	4
June 30, 1767. Daniel Rexford, Jr., 1742-	6	4
June 30, 1767. Ezra Ives, 1744-1825. D X E F	4	4
Feb. 2, 1768. Samuel Lee, Dr. S		
Dec. 5, 1769. Jesse Goodyear, 1735-1817. Capt. D S X	3	3
Dec. 4, 1770. Thomas Pardee, 1726-1802. D	2	1
Dec. 1, 1772. Nathan Alling, 1729-1812. S X D	7	1
May 16, 1774. Caleb Andrews, 1749-1830. M	1	7
May 16, 1774. Enos Dickerman, 1743-1776. M	2	3
May 16, 1774. Eliakim Mallory, 1748-1817. M	2	3
Dec. 5, 1775. Hezekiah Warner, 1741-1814. D E S	6	2
Dec. 5, 1775. Timothy Goodyear, 1740-1806. E	6	7
Dec. 5, 1775. John Goodyear, 1755-1776. M	0	1
Dec. 5, 1775. Jesse Dickerman, 1752-1821. M	3	1
Oct. 13, 1776. Jason Bradley, 1740-1819. M E	5	3
Nov. 6, 1776. Hezekiah Bassett, 1746-1825. Capt. D M E X S B	4	4
Nov. 6, 1776. Noah Woolcot, 1737-1803. M	7	4
Dec. 3, 1776. Abraham Chatterton, 1739-1816. D	2	2
Dec. 16, 1777. Samuel Hitchcock, Jr., 1743-1816. E	3	3
Dec. 1, 1778. Chauncey Dickerman, 1750-1820. E X D	5	6
Dec. 1, 1778. Job Munson, 1752-1828. D	3	3
Dec. 1, 1778. Jona Brooks, 1743-1803. M	5	2
Aug. 13, 1779. Levi Pardee, 1752- . D	0	4
Aug. 13, 1779. Amos Peck, Jr., 1749-1838. E	3	3
Dec. 7, 1779. Alling Cooper, 1740-1805. E	2	1
Dec. 7, 1779. Samuel Dickerman, 1745-1789. E X	3	4
Dec. 7, 1779. Titus Goodyear, 1746-1798. D	3	2
Oct. 11, 1780. Elisha Chapman, Dr. S X	2	0
Dec. 5, 1780. Hezekiah Dickerman, 1754-1814. D X	7	4
June 19, 1781. Job Todd, 1744-after 1815. D	8	4
Dec. 4, 1781. Samuel Bellamy, 1757-1839. E	0	0
Dec. 4, 1781. Amos Alling, 1734-1784. E	2	3
Dec. 3, 1782. James Dickerman, 1747-1811. E	2	2
Dec. 24, 1782. Aaron Bradley, 1757-1828. M D E X S B	2	3
Dec. 24, 1782. Jonathan Dickerman, 1747-1821. S E	2	5
Dec. 24, 1782. Jesse Thomas, 1735- . E	1	0
Dec. 2, 1783. Stephen Pardee, 1747-1796. E	4	3
Dec. 2, 1783. Joseph Gilbert, 1747-1821. E	1	4

	Sons	*Daughters*
Dec. 7, 1784. Amos Bradley, 1746-1819. D E	3	6
Dec. 6, 1785. Joel Hough, 1757-1843. E X C S F	8	4
Dec. 6, 1785. David Granniss. E		
Dec. 6, 1785. Simeon Miles, 1764- . M		
Dec. 6, 1785. Chauncey Goodyear, 1764-1845. M	3	4
Dec. 6, 1785. Nathan Alling, Jr., 1759-1835. M D E X F	6	2
Dec. 6, 1785. Elias Austin, 1766-1850. M	4	3
Dec. 4, 1787. Jotham Tuttle, 1752-1817. E	3	2
Dec. 4, 1787. Samuel Atwater, Jr., 1754-1820. E S X F B	3	5
Dec. 2, 1788. Eli Alling, 1758-1836. E	1	2
Dec. 1, 1789. Alling Ives, 1753- . Capt. X S	0	1
Dec. 22, 1789. Moses Peck, 1753-1837. E	0	3
Apr. 20, 1789. Amos Dickerman, 1759-1822. Ens. D E X S F A	3	5
Dec. 7, 1790. Elisha Perkins, 1748- . E	2	4
Apr. 5, 1791. Enos Bradley, 1759-1819. M	3	2
Apr. 5, 1791. Joseph Goodyear, 1768-1833. M	7	3
Apr. 5, 1791. Jared Cooper, 1768- . Capt. M	0	2
Dec. 6, 1791. Titus Munson, 1755-1809. E	0	6
Dec. 6, 1791. Enos Atwater, 1750-1802. E	2	4
Dec. 6, 1791. Eli Goodyear, 1766-1841. M D	6	2
Dec. 6, 1791. Asa Atwater, 1764-1814. D	1	1
Dec. 4, 1792. George A. Bristol, 1762-1813. E X F	6	5
Dec. 4, 1792. Usal Mansfield, 1744-1817. E	6	4
Dec. 4, 1792. Joseph Mansfield, 1737-1821. M	7	2
Dec. 4, 1792. Elias Hotchkiss, 1772-1830. M S	1	4
Dec. 3, 1793. Joseph Peck, 1762-1845. E	1	5
Dec. 3, 1793. Jesse Ives, 1774-1843. M B F X S	4	5
Dec. 3, 1793. Jesse Munson, 1771-1803. M	3	0
Dec. 3, 1793. Elam Ives, 1761-1846. D X S F C B T	9	4
Dec. 3, 1793. Timothy Bassett, 1758-1820. E	2	1
Dec. 3, 1793. Amasa Bradley, 1762-1827. E	2	0
Nov. 17, 1795. Josiah Root, Dr. 1752-1841. C S F	4	4
Nov. 15, 1796. Asa Dickerman, 1773-1810. M	1	1
Nov. 15, 1796. Joel Cooper, 1749-1840. D X F S	0	0
Nov. 26, 1798. Benjamin Gaylord, Jr., 1753- . D	4	4
Nov. 26, 1798. Hezekiah Brockett, Jr., 1769-1850. M X F S A	4	1
Nov. 19, 1799. Dimon Roberts, 1775- . M S	3	4
Nov. 18, 1800. Samuel Goodyear, 1778-1827. M	1	5
Nov. 17, 1801. Elam Dickerman, 1782-1825. M	2	1
Nov. 17, 1801. Leveret Dickerman, 1779-1861. M	3	2

	Sons	*Daughters*
Nov. 16, 1802. Jared Ives, 1781-1857. M S F T A	5	0
Apr. 6, 1803. Jesse Tuttle, 1759-1848. S X	3	0
Nov. 20, 1804. Hezekiah Bassett, Jr., 1774-1850. C S	3	5
Nov. 20, 1804. Simeon Goodyear, 1765-1815. F S A	4	2
Nov. 20, 1804. Enos Dickerman, 1775-1854. X F	3	2
Nov. 18, 1806. Lewis Goodyear, 1788-1840. M	2	4
Dec. 2, 1806. Job L. Munson, 1789-1864. B F	4	7
Dec. 2, 1806. Ambrose Tuttle, 1784-1865. S X	2	3
Dec. 2, 1806. Obed Blakesley, 1777-1860. S	2	2
Nov. 1, 1809. Russell Ives, 1784-1855. D S	4	2
Nov. 20, 1810. Jeremiah Peck, 1773- . S	4	1
Nov. 20, 1810. Zadoc Allen, 1774-1827. S F X	2	4
Nov. 20, 1810. Lyman Bradley, 1769-1853. S F D X	3	2
Nov. 19, 1811. Parsons Ives, 1791-1850. M	1	1
Nov. 17, 1812. Jeremiah Gilbert, 1781-1844. D S		
Nov. 16, 1813. Jason Dickerman, 1786-1870. C F	5	1
Nov. 16, 1813. Allen Dickerman, 1781-1856. F X S C	3	4
Nov. 21, 1815. Alvan Bradley, 1778-1860. D S	2	1
Nov. 21, 1815. Lyman Goodyear, 1786-1873. M C D S	2	1
Nov. 19, 1816. Arba Dickerman, 1795-1861. X C S	4	0
Nov. 18, 1817. Levi Dickerman, 1774-1842. D	5	2
Nov. 17, 1818. Jared Atwater, 1780-1850. D	1	6
Nov. 16, 1819. Elam Ives, Jr., 1802-1864. M	1	4
Jan. 17, 1820. Amos Dickerman, Jr., 1792-1850. D S	0	3
Nov. 21, 1820. Amos W. Sanford, 1785-1849. F S	6	2
Nov. 20, 1821. Horace Goodyear, 1793-1866. D	0	1
Nov. 19, 1822. Ezra Dickerman, 1799-1860. M C S F	6	3
Nov. 19, 1822. Giles C. Dunbar, 1784-1845. S D F		
May 21, 1823. Elijah Hart, 1759-1837. A S	4	0
May 21, 1823. Lyman Tuttle, 1779-1842. S	6	6
May 21, 1823. Joseph Hough, 1791- . D		
Nov. 16, 1824. William Ives, 1804-1874. M	0	1
Nov. 15, 1825. Jesse F. Goodyear, 1798-1856. D B X F	3	1
Nov. 24, 1826. Amos Peck, Jr., 1795-1866. B S	2	1
Nov. 21, 1826. Amos Parsons.	1	2
Nov. 21, 1826. Mark Ives, 1801-1884.	3	1
Nov. 21, 1826. Jared Dickerman, 1798-1891.	2	7
March 5, 1827. Uri Todd, 1800-1860. S	1	7
March 5, 1827. Elihu Dickerman, 1802-1893. S	2	1
March 15, 1827. Samuel Goodyear, 1778-1827.	1	5
March 15, 1827. Henry Peck, 1804-1861.	3	1
March 15, 1827. Leverett Hitchcock, 1803-1881.	2	2
Nov. 20, 1827. Austin Munson, 1791-1859. S	4	2

X.

The Ministry and the People.

IT was evidently taken for granted that Mr. Sherman's pastorate would be permanent, as was the usual practice in those times. Soon after the installation, he took steps toward building a house. At first he chose a spot about half a mile south of the meeting-house, adjacent to the homestead of Captain Jonathan Ives, and bought five acres of land on the west side of the street and a smaller tract on the east side. But before he had begun to build, another lot became available just south of the meeting-house and close by, which he decided was a better place. So he bought this also and proceeded to put up a substantial dwelling on it, which is still standing in good preservation.

The satisfaction of the people generally with the new turn of events is seen in a large accession to the membership of the church, sixteen men and twenty-two women becoming members within a few months. Families that had held off in disapproval of previous proceedings promptly came forward to take their places and bear their share in the work to be undertaken.

An entry in the Diary of the Reverend Ezra Stiles, who was then at Newport, Rhode Island, is interesting at this point. He was a native of North Haven; his wife was a daughter of Dr. Hubbard of New Haven; one half-sister was Mrs. Baszel Munson and another, Mrs. Lemuel Bradley, both in the Mount Carmel Parish; and, since his father's death, his mother had made her home with one or the other of these daughters. Writing in September, 1770, he tells of a visit to his mother, and of preaching for Mr. Sherman on Sunday to a congregation of two hundred and eighty or three hundred persons.* This was in the second year of Mr. Sherman's pastorate and indicates that things were going prosperously.

* Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. I, pp. 68-69.

Not long after, however, trouble arose, and in the following March a question was raised as to whether steps should not be taken to bring about the dismission of their pastor. The disaffection was serious and, when a vote was taken, it was found that an overwhelming majority were in favor of calling a Council to consider what should be done. A Council was called and recommended that pastor and people should make up their differences and continue in peace. This proved unavailing and complaint was made to the Association with request to call the Consociation for a hearing. The final result was that the pastor made a confession of faults, which was accepted by the Consociation as showing a Christian spirit; but it was felt that his imprudence and misconduct had fixed such deep impressions of uneasiness among the people as to impair his usefulness, and so it was decided to proceed with his dismission.*

Stiles's *Diary* contains a reference to the action as showing a singular division of the Consociation.† All the lay delegates and just half the ministers were for dismission. It was contended by some of the ministers that this was not decisive, because the Saybrook Platform specified that there must be a majority of the ministers to make a vote. This was resented

* The charges laid before the Consociation were as follows:

1. Mr. Sherman has violated the votes of the Church.
2. He did not take the minds of the brethren when requested in an important matter.
3. He has charged people with lying and then denied it.
4. He has said that Mr. Trumbull told him Capt. Ives went about telling lies about Mr. Sherman.
5. He has converted others' property to his own use.
6. He has used independent aand unbecoming expressions.

To these charges the Pastor sent in a written reply, but failed to satisfy the Consociation, which formulated its conclusions on the several complaints in the following specifications:

1. He has betrayed carelessness.
2. His refusal is a violation of the rights of the Church.
3. Substantially proved except the last part.
4. May be a mistake.
5. Mr. Sherman had no felonious design.
6. His behavior was unbecoming.

† *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 172.

by the lay delegates, particularly by Joshua Chandler of North Haven, a Yale graduate and a lawyer of eminence,* who declared that if such was to be the ruling, he would never go to the Consociation again, no matter if the church did send him. The other delegates all acquiesced in this view. Then three of the ministers, Goodrich, Waterman, and Woodbridge, sided with them and took the ground that delegates had as much power in the Councils as pastors, to which some of the other ministers assented. So the vote finally proved to be for dismission.

But the contention was not to end there. Mr. Sherman thought that he was greatly wronged. He claimed that the dismission was hasty and that the contract of his settlement, involving maintenance, was still valid. He had removed with all his belongings one hundred sixty miles, had built a house at a cost of £600, expending all his means and running in debt, with the expectation of spending his life there. No compensation was allowed him for his loss and the Society refused to make any. He carried his case to court, and, failing to gain a hearing there, he made petition to the General Assembly. He fared little better before this tribunal, but persisted in his pleas, session after session, for many years. In the lower house, he found almost no encouragement and was uniformly defeated. The upper chamber, however, was usually more kindly disposed in regard to vested privileges; besides, Roger Sherman was one of the most influential members, which probably was no disadvantage to the petitioner. At any rate, the bills in his behalf were carried in the upper house time after time, only to be lost by reason of opposition in the lower house.

Mr. Sherman, having a home and small farm of his own at Mount Carmel, seems to have continued to live there after his dismission. He had a wife and several children, two of whom were probably born there, as the records mention the baptism of a daughter, Sarah, January 12, 1772, by the Reverend Naphtali Daggett, and of a son, Thaddeus, September 14, 1774, by the Reverend Benjamin Trumbull. In

* *Yale Biographies*, Second Series, pp. 108-110.

February, 1778, the property was sold to Joel Goodyear and Mary Bristol, and from this time on his home was in East Windsor, Connecticut. This was over six years after his dismission, and the removal must have afforded no little relief to him and his family, as well as to the people implicated in his troubles.

Meanwhile, other questions were filling people's minds. The independence of the American Colonies had been declared and the war with the mother country had begun. Lines were sharply drawn between those who favored independence and those against it. Joshua Chandler was bitterly against it and eventually fled to Nova Scotia and suffered the confiscation of his property. Lemuel Bradley of Mount Carmel had a similar experience. Most of the Mount Carmel people, however, were ardent supporters of the Continental Congress, and sent many volunteers to the American Army. Mr. Sherman, also, was devoted to the Colonial cause and proved his devotion by an act that cost him dearly. Congress was in straits for funds. He had the money for which he had sold his homestead and he took most of it, the sum of £600, and loaned it to the government. He believed it to be a safe investment, so great was his confidence in the triumph of popular principles, and he was sure that he would receive the interest as it became due. He was disappointed; the government could not pay anything for a long period of years, and this entailed on him grinding poverty and hardship.

It is not surprising, therefore, that his claim against the Mount Carmel Society came to be looked upon in a more kindly way. So it came to pass that the General Assembly of 1781 granted the demands of his petition and ordered execution against the Parish for their payment. Apparently the old opposition among the people had also finally disappeared and the indemnity was readily paid.

Ten years had passed between the close of Mr. Sherman's pastorate and the satisfactory settlement of his claims; and, after that event, two more years went by before another pastor was agreed upon to take the place left vacant. Thus, for

a period of twelve years, the church was without a settled minister. Nevertheless, community life seems to have gone on very well; the Ecclesiastical Society held its meetings to choose officers and transact other necessary business at appointed times, and the ordinances of the church were maintained with some regularity. This is shown in the number of baptisms recorded, one hundred and seven during this interim between pastorates, baptisms of children whose parents were most of them members of this church.

This record of baptisms speaks of happy fraternal relations subsisting with other churches and their ministers in the neighborhood around. It may seem that the ministers belonging to the New Haven Association were rather harsh at times in their official proceedings; but in their more personal dealings with the Mount Carmel people, we find them to have been delightfully generous and helpful. These pastorless people had to look to them for numberless services, the administration of the Lord's Supper as well as baptism, visitation of the sick, burial of the dead, and comforting words to those in sorrow; for which the call might come at almost any hour and often so as to interfere with other duties.

Such errands involved long journeys on horseback over rough roads, in winter and summer, through storm and sunshine. Noah Williston of West Haven was at Mount Carmel to perform baptisms on six different occasions, which, for him, meant a jaunt of twenty miles in going and returning. East Haven is about the same distance away, and Nicholas Street of that place is recorded as taking his turn in administering the sacrament. Stonington is much further away, but we find that Joseph Fish came from there. Andrew Storrs came from Northbury, the old name for Plymouth. Alexander Gillett was from Framingbury, which is now known as Wolcott. Simon Waterman of Wallingford is named twice; so, also, John Foot of Cheshire and Stephen Hawley of Bethany; while Benjamin Trumbull of North Haven is recorded seven times. The ministers at the center of New Haven are often spoken of, President Daggett on four occasions; Allyn Mather, Chauncey Whittlesey, Samuel Bird,

and Jonathan Edwards, each at three services of baptism. The name of Jesse Ives is in the list, for a day in November, and we can imagine that he had come with his family to the Bellamy home for Thanksgiving. One of Hawley's visits was also in November, when he doubtless visited the same old home with his family for a like occasion. How great was the influence of these occasional visits from ministers who were known and beloved throughout the parish, we can easily imagine. We can understand, too, that services of worship, and particularly sacramental occasions, conducted by President Daggett, or Dr. Edwards, Mr. Whittlesey, or Dr. Trumbull made a deep impression on the congregations that shared in them and did much to keep up their interest in religious concerns. Under the watchful eye of such earnest friends, the people could not wholly lose heart.

For the ordinary public worship on Sunday, a pulpit supply was usually obtained from the college, where graduates were to be found who were pursuing a course of study in preparation for the ministry. These were often young men of ability and acceptable preachers, as is shown by the influential positions they held in after years. One who was early employed in this way was Joseph Howe,* the best scholar of the class of 1765, and for three years a tutor of influence in the faculty. He received calls from the First Church in Hartford and the South Church in Boston, the latter of which he accepted, entering on a happy ministry, which was interrupted by the invasion of British soldiers in 1775. Next in order, as the records show, was David Ely,† a classmate of Nathan Hale and Timothy Dwight, who was afterward the pastor at Huntington for forty years and in his later years a member of the Yale Corporation. A third was Lyman Potter,‡ who was the pastor at Norwich, Vermont, for twenty-five years, then a Presbyterian missionary in Pennsylvania and Ohio, and, in the end, the owner of a large farm in Ohio, where he died in his eightieth year. In 1775,

* *Yale Biographies*, Third Series, pp. 264-265.
† *Ibid.*, pp. 334-335.
‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 452-453.

mention is made of Joseph Baker, who afterward held pastorates in Massachusetts and became distinguished as a politician, a member of the Massachusetts legislature, and a member of Congress. A little later appears the name of Reuben Holcomb,* who became pastor of a church in Lancaster, Massachusetts, where things had been about as turbulent as at Mount Carmel. He was successful, however, in straightening out affairs and stayed there thirty-five years; after which he devoted himself to farming and became eminent as a fruit-grower. Then comes Nehemiah Prudden,† who went to Enfield, Connecticut, another community torn by dissensions, where he became distinguished as a peacemaker and continued for thirty-three years, till the end of his life. Another was Rozel Cook,‡ who had a pastorate at Montville in the neighborhood of New London.

Most of these were Yale graduates, able men, whose presence in the pulpit was in keeping with New Haven standards of scholarly thought and earnest conviction. Some of them may have been looked upon as candidates for the pastorate, but probably the embarrassing position of the church in relation to Mr. Sherman prevented any serious thought of another pastor till that affair was out of the way, and these student preachers were heard as only temporary supplies. Very likely there were others whose names do not appear in the records. But those who have been mentioned may be taken as examples. It meant a great deal for this congregation to be led in their worship by young men of such gifts. Especially for the more youthful portion and the children, there was a certain inspiration to noble thought and worthy ambition in listening to a man not many years older than themselves, catching the glow of his ardor for worthy living, and perhaps talking with him of their own half-formed wishes and impulses. And it was not a slight privilege to have some acquaintance with these men of such great promise and to have a continued personal interest in their achievements as years

* *Yale Biographies*, Third Series, pp. 527-529.
† *Ibid.*, pp. 583-585.
‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 668-669.

went by and brought them well-earned laurels. In all this there was not wanting a certain compensation for not having a regularly settled pastor.*

At length, however, after Mr. Sherman's claims had been adjusted, the people began once more to set about having a settled minister, and in due time they united in calling Joshua Perry, a Yale graduate of 1775.† He was a son of Joshua Perry, a farmer of Ripton, now Shelton, Connecticut. His mother was a sister of the Reverend Mark Leavenworth of Waterbury. Another Leavenworth sister was the wife of

* Evidence of the results of such wholesome influence may be found in the number of young men from Mount Carmel who entered Yale College:

	Class of
Austin Munson	1749, physician at Claverack, New York.
Simeon Bristol	1760, from Cheshire, Justice at Mount Carmel.
Noah Atwater	1774, minister at Westfield, Massachusetts.
Stephen Row Bradley	1775, from Cheshire, Vermont pioneer.
Jason Atwater	1781, minister at Branford.
Simeon Bristol, Jr., student, killed by a fall May 23, 1782.	
Dan Bradley	1789, minister, New York pioneer.
Joel Bradley	1789, minister, New York pioneer.
Ezra Bradley	1797, minister and farmer in Massachusetts.
Ezra Ives	1797, physician in South Carolina.
William Bristol	1798, Judge Supreme Court, Connecticut, etc.

The following were Yale graduates of the nineteenth century:

	Class of
George Goodyear	1824, minister in Massachusetts and New Hampshire.
Jason Atwater, 2d	1825, minister in Connecticut.
Francis Ives	1845, lawyer in Bridgeport.
George Arba Dickerman	1855, minister in Illinois.
Wilbur Ives	1863, died soon after graduation.
George Sherwood Dickerman	1865, minister, author, etc.

In more recent years, a number of others whose boyhood was partly passed in this neighborhood have been graduated from Yale; among whom may be named:

	Class of
Chauncey B. Brewster	1868, Bishop of Connecticut.
Stanley P. Warren	1869, physician in Maine.
William J. Brewster	1881, minister.
Benjamin Brewster	1882, Bishop of Maine.

† *Yale Biographies*, Third Series, pp. 581-582.

House Built by Rev. Nathaniel Sherman

House of Jonathan Dickerman, 2d

Jonathan Dickerman, 2d, was married by Rev. Nathaniel Sherman in 1770 and this house was probably built about that time

Nichols Moss of Derby, after whose death she married Jonathan Dickerman of Mount Carmel as his second wife.* This aunt was living at Mount Carmel when Perry was in college, so that he doubtless visited there from time to time and became somewhat familiar with the people. He studied theology with his Uncle Leavenworth, who was famed for being an independent and original thinker, a progressive theologian upon whom ministers of the old school looked with alarm. Perry was licensed to preach by the Fairfield East Association in 1776, the year of the Declaration of Independence, and in the years immediately following was temporarily employed by a number of different churches, among which was that of New Canaan. As people's thoughts were chiefly of the war that was going on, they were not in much of a mood to settle a pastor. As the war drew to a close, he was engaged to supply the pulpit at Mount Carmel, received a call to the pastorate, and was ordained October 15, 1783.

Although he had been taught in theology by Mark Leavenworth, who was out of favor with the New Haven Association, Mr. Perry seems to have commended himself to the ministers who met for his examination, and neither records nor tradition tell of any discordant notes at his ordination. His uncle came over from Waterbury to stand by him and preach the sermon, and thus his ministry opened with promise. He bought a homestead in the north part of the Parish, above the Steps, where the road eastward to Wallingford branches off from the main street, on the southeast corner. The purchase was made from Hiel Peck; and, on leaving Mount Carmel, in 1790, he sold the property to Tully Crosby, from whose heirs it passed to Hezekiah Brockett, now being known as the "Hezekiah Brockett Place."

Early in the third year of his ministry, the General Assembly of Connecticut incorporated the town of Hamden, covering the territory which previously belonged to the Parish of Mount Carmel, with a district to the south in "the limits of the 17th Military Company in the Second Regi-

* *Dickerman Genealogy*, pp. 403-406.

ment of State Militia." With this Act, the territory named passed out from under the jurisdiction of New Haven and the old Parish of Mount Carmel became an institution of the past. Mr. Perry therefore began his ministry in the town of New Haven and closed it in Hamden. This speaks merely of change in the name; but it marks the coming of a new order. In the following year, 1787, there met in Philadelphia the convention which framed the constitution of the United States. Among the many changes consequent on the Revolution was a modification of the manner of raising money for the maintenance of churches which made the ministers' tenure of office more uncertain.

Previous to this, indeed, for some fifty years, exceptions in regard to ecclesiastical taxation had been made on behalf of Episcopalians, Quakers, and Baptists. But now exceptions became more general. In 1784, a law was passed allowing any individual exemption from taxes to support the ministry established in his locality, provided that he regularly attended worship elsewhere and contributed to its maintenance. This opened the way for property holders to escape taxation by an easy subterfuge.

In Mount Carmel, four at least of the larger property holders soon availed themselves of this privilege. They were Jonathan Dickerman, Baszel Munson, Samuel Atwater, and Jacob Atwater. Bending to the necessity thus forced on the Society, Mr. Perry good-naturedly offered to remit from his salary an amount equal to that of the taxes unpaid by all who had been legally excused. The amount was £50, a large part of the salary, inasmuch as the whole amount stipulated was only £80 with firewood. The Society acknowledged the gift with gratitude and the immediate crisis was bridged over. But it was not for long. In the following year, the records speak of "uneasiness in the parish, many respectable inhabitants having withdrawn to join other societies, so that the list of tax-payers was greatly reduced, nearly one-third part, necessitating a dissolution of the pastorate." Accordingly a council was convened on January 12, 1790, which resulted in a close of the pastorate.

President Stiles, alluding to the event in his *Diary*, remarks upon Mr. Perry: "He dies a martyr to New Divinity."* No doubt this reflects the opinion of some who were disaffected, but as Stiles adhered to the Old Divinity, we need not accept his judgment as unbiassed. He seems not to have made quite fair allowance for the exigencies of the times.

Mr. Perry's wife was Marah Strong, a daughter of John Strong of Farmington, and after his dismission he retired to a farm not very far from her old home, in what is now Burlington, and devoted his attention to cultivating the ground and raising stock. He died in 1812, and his wife ten years later. They had one daughter, who never married. His estate was appraised at $6,390 which indicates that the years subsequent to his pastorate were passed in comfortable circumstances.

After Mr. Perry's departure, there followed a period of ten years without a settled pastor. During these years, there was a return to the practice of depending on ministers in neighboring towns for various services, while Sunday supplies were largely afforded by young men from the college. In the list of those who thus maintained the offices of the church there was a goodly number of men of eminence, whose interest and personal efforts did much to hold up the standards of religious thought and moral rectitude. There was a decline, however, in membership, from one hundred and nine in 1783, when Mr. Perry was ordained, to eighty-seven in 1800.

With the beginning of the new century, the people united in calling the Reverend Asa Lyman to be their pastor.† He was ordained September 9, 1800, and continued till April 26, 1803, when ill health made it necessary for him to give up his work while it was full of promise. He was afterward a pastor in Maine, first at Bath and later at Windham. For many years he was a teacher, at one time in Buffalo, New York, and then at Skaneateles. He had one son who be-

* Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. III, pp. 374, 377.

† *Yale Biographies*, Fifth Series, pp. 296-297.

came a Bishop of North Carolina and another son who was a priest of the Roman Catholic Church. There were also five daughters in his family. He died at Clinton, New York, January 20, 1836.

After Mr. Lyman's departure, the church was without a pastor for three years, and then called Mr. John Hyde,* who was ordained May 21, 1806, the ordination sermon being given by the Reverend Samuel Nott, D.D., the father of Mrs. Hyde. This pastorate seems to have been happy and fruitful. Mr. Hyde at his own request was dismissed in January, 1811, after which he held pastorates at Preston, Connecticut, and Wilbraham, Massachusetts. He had a family of three sons and three daughters. He died at Franklin at the house of his father-in-law on August 14, 1848, at the age of seventy-two.

Soon after Mr. Hyde's dismission, the Reverend Eliphalet Coleman was engaged to supply the pulpit and proved so acceptable that in the following year, on February 5, 1812, he was ordained to be the settled pastor. Mr. Coleman was a son of Deacon Seth Coleman of Amherst, Massachusetts, a physician, who was distinguished for his religious earnestness and for an extraordinary influence in the community where he lived. Eliphalet was the seventh in a family of eight children. He was a graduate of Williams College in the class of 1800. Thus his antecedents and education were a little different from those of the ministers coming from Yale, to whom the Mount Carmel people were accustomed. His pastorate continued till November, 1825, over thirteen years, quite a variation in point of stability from previous experiences.

* *Yale Biographies*, Fifth Series, pp. 594-595.

XI.

Revolutionary Times.

DURING the entire period of the War of the Revolution, the people of Mount Carmel were without a settled minister. They seem, however, to have joined in the movement for independence in the same spirit as the people in adjacent parishes and to have borne their share of its burdens with similar credit. This is shown very early in the list of members contributed to the Committee of Inspection.

When the First Continental Congress, in 1774, started its Association to combine the colonies against the crown, through a non-importation agreement enforced by means of a system of committees operating in every community, the Connecticut General Assembly, meeting in October, immediately ratified its action; and New Haven, in a town meeting a few days later, on November 14, confirmed the recommendations of the Assembly and chose a Committee of Inspection having thirty-one members. Before this action was taken, it was voted that the major part of the Committee be chosen within the limits of the First Society. There was reason for this in the difficulty of deciding on such short notice what men were best fitted for the work in localities removed from the center, such as East Haven, West Haven, Woodbridge, North Haven, and Mount Carmel. A few, however, were chosen from these parishes, and among them was Joel Bradley, Jr., of Mount Carmel, who is to be distinguished from another, much older man of the same name who belonged to North Haven.

The Committee was enlarged at another town meeting, December 20, by the addition of twenty more members, covering the ground more completely. Among the new members were Samuel Atwater and Jonathan Dickerman of Mount Carmel, who undoubtedly brought to this patriotic service the same commanding influence, energy, and persist-

ence which characterized them in other fields of activity. In January, 1776, Jonathan Dickerman was chosen a grand juror in place of Jason Bradley, which may have had some relation to his duties as an inspector. A year later, in January, 1777, in pursuance of a war measure of the General Assembly for the regulation of prices, another Committee of Inspection was appointed to fix prices and enforce their observance by civil authority, a committee of sixteen, among whom were three from this part of the town, John Gilbert, Jonathan Dickerman, and Joel Gilbert. Still later, in March, 1780, a committee of forty-one members was chosen. The members of this committee were to be Inspectors of Provisions, and, among them, Jonathan Dickerman, Abner Todd and Captain Jesse Goodyear were from Mount Carmel parish.

The presence of such representative citizens on these several committees is proof of an active interest in the cause of independence and an intelligent appreciation of the great leadership of the Continental Congress, and indicates their willingness to keep diligent watch over whatever was going on in their particular neighborhoods, to be on the alert for every sort of mischief, and to promote the patriotism of their community.

Nor were the people of this parish less ready for military service. There is a record which reads as follows: "In North Haven a number of volunteers of more than 60 men, having enlisted themselves into the service of their country, chose the following for their officers, January 13, 1777, Revd. Benjamin Trumbull, Captain; John Gilbert, 1st Lieutenant; Joel Bradley of Mount Carmel, 2nd Lieutenant; Lieut. Jared Hill, Ensign." As Mount Carmel and North Haven had always been closely associated, they naturally united in forming this company of "minute men" for any emergency that might arise. The distribution of the offices is especially significant. Trumbull of North Haven, who had already served as chaplain with two regiments in the field, and who was known and honored in both parishes, was commanding officer; next came John Gilbert, who lived at the south end

of the Mount Carmel parish; and third, Joel Bradley, whose home was at the north end, toward Cheshire. Thus three widely separated neighborhoods were represented, and we may conclude that each had its contingent of volunteers in the company.

Two years later, on July 5, 1779, when the British troops made their incursion into New Haven, the worth of such precautions was put to the proof. The same John Gilbert, who was then spoken of as captain of a company, fought at the head of his men, whom he had rallied to resist the attack, and in the gallant fight that ensued he was killed by the enemy. His brother Michael was also killed in the same encounter, and his neighbor, Joseph Dorman, with a number of others.

It is recorded, besides, that Captain Jesse Goodyear of the 2d Militia Regiment "turned out at the invasion of New Haven." Other captains of this Regiment are named as Caleb Gilbert, Moses Gilbert, and Baszel Munson. Baszel Munson was also a member of a Committee of Inspectors chosen December 11, 1775, and was active in the support of the War in many ways.

In the Lexington Alarm list of April, 1774, occur the names of Samuel Atwater, Hezekiah Dickerman, John Goodyear, Theophilus Goodyear, and Ebenezer Warner.

In the company of Captain Samuel Peck, in General Wadsworth's Brigade of Washington's Army, are found the names of Sergeant Allen Ives, Theophilus Goodyear, Jotham Atwater, and John Atwater. Of these, Jotham Atwater was killed in the Battle of White Plains. His brother, Enos Atwater, was also in the Army, but in the company of Captain Joel Clark, in the 8th Regiment, commanded by Colonel Jedediah Huntington.

Isaac Dickerman was a 2d Lieutenant in the 5th Battalion of General Wadsworth's Brigade in 1776.

Enos Dickerman died of disease in New York in 1776. In family tradition he is understood to have been in the Army, but his name does not appear on the official rolls and

he may have been in New York on some duty other than that of a soldier in the ranks.

Hezekiah Dickerman was a corporal in Captain Bunnell's company, of Wallingford, in 1776.

Jonathan Alling and his brother Isaac enlisted early and continued in the service till the close of the War.

The *Goodyear Genealogy* states that Theophilus Goodyear was in the battles of Long Island and White Plains and afterward drew an invalid's pension. His son, Theophilus, 3d, was also in the Army in 1778-79, and another son, Edward Goodyear, served as a corporal in 1781 and in 1783.

Daniel Bradley entered the service in 1778, was a corporal in 1780 and a sergeant in 1781.

Joseph Peck was in the service three years, from February 23, 1778, to 1781.

Benjamin Warner was in Arnold's company, May 15 to September 1, 1775, and was in the Siege of Boston.

Lazarus Ives and Elijah Woolcot were in the service in the spring of 1777.

Jesse Bradley, a brother of Daniel and Joel, having removed to Lee in Berkshire County, actively supported the Revolution in Massachusetts; and Eli Bradley, who had also gone from Mount Carmel to Lee, was with him in this. Elisha Bradley had removed to Stockbridge and his three sons, Lent, Josiah, and Asahel, all served in the Army from there. So did Joel Dickerman, a brother of Enos and Hezekiah of Mount Carmel. Four sons of Moses Bradley, whose farm was on the Cheshire line, served in the Army; they were Moses, 2d, Reuben, Oliver, and Stephen Rowe Bradley.

There is much to show that the people of the Thirteen Colonies were not by any means all of one mind in regard to the Revolution. It is said on good authority that: "In the city of New Haven, in 1776, nearly half the people were British sympathizers." If this was so in the city, something of the same sort must have been true in regard to the people on the farms in the neighborhoods around. Country people are no quicker than those living in a city to be carried away

with an enthusiasm for the vindication of rights. But if the people in general were reluctant to break with the mother country in the earlier stages of the struggle, the movement of events steadily worked to overcome their reluctance; even as it did in the Civil War, and again in the World War. The story of the World War throws a great light upon the popular movement of the Revolution, which grew, step by step, with every fresh aggression and every new act of defiant resistance, till the colonies became united, the convictions of the people were solidified, and the spirit of independence dissolved the historic bonds of reverence and love for the British crown.

Even to the end of the Revolutionary struggle, however, there were not a few courageous men and women who steadfastly held to their faith in King George the Third and sided with the British armies. There may have been more of these than we know in the Parish of Mount Carmel. If so, they must have kept very still about their devotion to royalty and left few traces of such sympathies.

A single example of downright loyalist devotion was Lemuel Bradley, whose wife was Esther Stiles, a sister of Mrs. Baszel Munson and of President Ezra Stiles of Yale College. A number of entries in President Stiles's *Diary* disclose Lemuel Bradley's attitude and tell of the hard vicissitudes in which it involved his family. On August 24, 1779, is this: "Noon sailed my sister Esther Bradley, with her five children, in a Flag for Long Island where her husband is, having joined the enemies of the United States." Six years after this, July 5, 1785, Stiles wrote: "This even arrived here my sister, Esther Bradley, from St. John, New Brunswick"; then, on November 1, "Sister Esther's cause heard before the Assembly"; and two weeks later, November 17, "I rode to North Haven with my sister Bradley, who took possession of her house and lot"; and in the following year, May 9, 1786, "Rode to North Haven and lodged at Sister's." Six years had gone by when he wrote again, December 15, 1792, "Cousin Bradley came here from St. John, New Brunswick," which is to be connected with an entry in

the following spring, April 10, 1793, "Sister Bradley and her son Leverett sailed this day for Georgetown in the Province of New Brunswick to her home and children there. She has lived here and principally at my house these five years." These fragmentary jottings tell a story on which it is idle to enlarge.

With the close of the War came the hour for amnesty. At a town meeting in New Haven, March 8, 1784, a committee was chosen "to consider the propriety and expediency of admitting as inhabitants of the town persons who in the course of the late war adhered to the cause of Great Britain against the United States." The committee were Pierpont Edwards, John Whiting, David Austin, David Atwater, Samuel Huggins, James Hillhouse, Jonathan Ingersoll, and Jonathan Dickerman. They drafted a report which was laid before the meeting, accepted, approved, and adopted. Probably this report was largely the work of Pierpont Edwards, who was afterward a member of the Continental Congress of 1787-88 and an able advocate of the Constitution of the United States in the convention held to ratify it.

A part of the report has significance for the ending of every war; for appropriate conduct at other times, as well as for 1784. Some passages are as follows:

> These United States, by the blessings of heaven, established their independence and secured their liberties on that basis to which their wishes and exertions were directed, and as the great national question on which those persons differed from us in sentiment is terminated authoritatively in favor of the United States, it is our opinion that in point of law and constitution it will be proper to admit as inhabitants of this town such persons as are specified; but that no persons who committed unauthorized and lawless plundering and murder, or have waged war against these United States contrary to the laws and usages of civilized nations, ought on any account to be admitted.
>
> With respect to the expediency of such a measure, we beg leave to report that in our opinion no nation, however distinguished for prowess in arms and success in war, can be considered truly great unless it is also distinguished for justice and magnanimity; and no people can with the least propriety lay claim to the character of be-

ing just who violate their most solemn treaties, or of being magnanimous who prosecute a conquered and submitting enemy, that therefore the present and future national glory of the United States is deeply concerned in their conduct relative to persons described in said vote; for although at the present moment, while the distress and calamities of the late war are fresh in our recollection, we may consider a persecuting spirit as justifiable, we must, when reason assumes her empire, reproach such a line of conduct, and be convinced that future generations, not being influenced by our passions, will form their ideas of our character from those acts which a faithful historian shall have recorded, and not from our passions of which they can have no history.

As this town is most advantageously situated for commerce, having spacious and safe harbors surrounded by a very extensive and fertile country which is inhabited by an industrious and enterprising people fully sensible of the advantage of trade, and as the relative and essential importance and consequence of this state depend on the prosperity and extent of its agriculture and commerce, neither of which can alone render it important and happy, we are of the opinion that in point of real honor and permanent utility the measure proposed will be highly expedient.

In accepting the report of the committee, the town voted to admit as inhabitants the persons referred to and directed the selectmen to act accordingly.

XII.

The Change from a State-Church to Free Churches.

UNDER the old order a single church for each particular community was established and maintained by the government. Such an arrangement was promotive of stability and had the effect of securing long pastorates. Thus, James Pierpont was pastor of the First Church in New Haven for thirty years and his successor, Joseph Noyes, for forty-five years. At Wallingford, Samuel Street was in office forty-two years and was followed by Samuel Whittlesey, who was there forty-three years. At East Haven, Jacob Hemingway was minister for fifty years and, after him, Nicholas Street served for fifty-one years. Isaac Stiles was at North Haven thirty-six years; Noah Williston at West Haven fifty-one; and Samuel Hall at Cheshire fifty-two years. All these men died in office. Now and then it was different; there were several short pastorates at West Haven before Mr. Williston's; one at North Haven before Mr. Stiles's; and one in East Haven after Mr. Street's. But life pastorates were usual. The tax levied by legislature paid the bills, and the minister stayed on as a matter of course.

This was the situation in 1727 when the land grant was made for a ministry to be established "near the Blue Hills." But thirty years later, when the Mount Carmel Parish was instituted, things had changed in many respects. The old First Church had been split in two; sharp contentions had risen over the innovations of the Saybrook Platform, and the common people were growing restless under the impositions of their ecclesiastical managers. That was the secret of the lack of unanimity at Mount Carmel. The meddling of the Ministers' Association exasperated the Mount Carmel people and the episode with Mr. Sherman did not help matters. So it came to pass that of the first forty years of this parish

only nine years were under a settled ministry. Naturally there was not much cohesion to hold people together. At the end of the period there was hardly more unity than at the outset, if there was as much.

The new law that went into effect in Mr. Perry's time, which opened the way for property holders to evade taxation for the maintenance of the recognized church, gave a chance to everyone who was in any way dissatisfied to quit the church. Mr. Perry's ministry was brought to an end by this means. But other effects followed. In different parts of the parish people drew together in several congenial groups, apart from the old society, and in course of time there were three or four churches instead of one.

Among the records at Mount Carmel is a little bundle of papers with signatures of property holders asking to be released from their taxes because of attendance at some other place of worship. The earliest has the date of 1788, and the latest of 1826. One, of 1788, reads: "Jason Bradley attends church at Woodbridge pretty steady the year 1787." Another of the same year states that Ephraim Johnson has "signed to the Strict Congregational Society of Wallingford commonly called Separates and hath contributed to the support of the gospel there." Still another, of September 24, 1788, has a statement that "Joel Bradley, Elisha Perkins and Ezra Kimberly have signed to and paid ministerial tax to the Episcopal Society of North Haven"; and others in the following November tell of Stephen Pardee, Abel Stockwell, Levi Bradley, John Gilbert, and Samuel Martin as having joined the same society.

So it appears that, in 1788, a considerable group of people were going over to the Episcopal Church in North Haven. In the following year the group was enlarged by the addition of Titus Munson and Jesse Goodyear, Jr., who probably began their attendance in 1788, with Joel Pardee, Eli Bradley, Jared Goodyear, Asa Goodyear, Jr., Thomas Pardee, Timothy Bassett, Joseph Bassett, Benjamin Warner, Samuel Warner, and Jesse Warner. Finally, on February 6, 1790, Jonah Warner, Amos Warner, and Ebenezer Warner,

Jr., were also added. All these went for worship to the Episcopal society in North Haven under the care of the Reverend Edward Blakeslee. It was not long before steps were taken to form an Episcopal Society in Hamden and on March 1, 1790, a warrant for this purpose was given to Ezra Kimberly which reads as follows:

By authority of the State of Connecticut you are hereby commanded to warn all the inhabitants that live within the parish of Mount Carmel in said Hamden, who belong to the Episcopal Church (so called) and ordinarily attend public worship according to the forms, rites and ceremonies of said church, to appear and meet at the house of Stephen Pardee in said Hamden, on the sixteenth day of March, inst. at three o'clock in the afternoon, then and there to form an Episcopal Society, consisting of the inhabitants aforesaid and of all such living within said limits who shall join and adhere to said Church, and to choose all the officers necessary to such Society and to do other business requisite to said Society.

Dated at Hamden the first day of March 1790.

SIMEON BRISTOL, *Justice of the Peace.*

Alvin Bradley, Abraham Gilbert, Joel Bradley, Joseph Gilbert, Abijah Brooks; Principal inhabitants of the Episcopal Society.

Of the five named as principal inhabitants only Joel Bradley appears in the North Haven list made up from the certificates; from which it may be inferred that the others attended Episcopal service elsewhere, doubtless at Trinity in New Haven or at Cheshire, where the zealous rector, Reuben Ives, showed particular interest in Mount Carmel people.

Another interesting group of independents were those who believed in a "Strict Congregational Church" as distinguished from the consociated churches which it was customary to speak of as "Presbyterian." Ephraim Johnson has been named as going to Wallingford for this reason in 1788. A year later, in 1789, Ebenezer Hough was certified as attending the "Strict Congregational Church of Cheshire" and contributing to its support. Those holding these views, however, were found for the most part in the southwest part of

the old parish. A certificate of 1789 specifies that "Ebenezer Warner hath subscribed to the Congregational Society in this town," and there are other similar ones for Timothy and Elisha Leek. One of 1788, for Eldad Woolcut, reads: "This may certify that the subscriber differs in sentiment from the worship and ministry of the Ecclesiastical Society in said town and has chosen and joined himself with the First Strict Congregational Society in said Hamden." A certificate to Noah Woolcut is of like import.

The neighborhood in which these people lived was quite distant from the Mount Carmel meeting-house and also from those on the Green in New Haven. This made them more ready to sustain a worship of their own. A leading spirit in the movement was Captain Caleb Alling, who lived within the jurisdiction of the White Haven Church and was once arrested and put in prison for not paying his tax to support that institution. As early as 1789, the Reverend Benjamin Beach, who was in charge of a Separatist church in Prospect and of another in Derby, conducted services in this neighborhood, "about one quarter of the time," according to a statement in a letter that was written from there.

President Stiles in his *Diary* has some interesting allusions that have a bearing on this movement:

Feb. 28, 1784: Rode out 4 miles to the Plains where I find there are about 60 families who have a mind to set up winter preaching. They began this winter for the first time and hold their meetings at Gov. Matthew Gilbert's.

Jan. 26, 1790: There are about 100 families belonging to the Congregations in this town of Hamden. Being dissatisfied with the city Congregations they have begun a Congregation of divine worship and upheld it for two years or more about 4 miles off at the plains. They this day applied to me again to assist them in gathering a Congl. Church there.

Mch. 27, 1790: I preached all day at the Plains, where a new Congrega. chh. was lately gathered by Rev. Mr. Beach, Pastor of a separate chh. at Derby. . . . The chh. at Plains at its embodying consisted of 34 members, brothers and sisters, of which about a dozen brothers, regular members of other chh. except two admitted now and baptized.

The meetings for worship were held at one house and another in different parts of the neighborhood; but eventually it was decided to meet regularly at the house of Captain Jonathan Mix, which occupied quite a central position. A number living at a distance from there, however, objected to this decision; whereupon Captain Caleb Alling arose and gave notice that his house would be open thereafter on the Sabbath for worship and invited all who agreed with him to meet there. So, from this time on, there were two separate companies meeting regularly for worship. As the places of meeting were some distance apart, they probably interfered with one another less than might be supposed. Captain Caleb's meeting was kept up till near the end of his life, and his gravestone bore this inscription: "Rev. Caleb Alling; died November 25, 1823, in the 78 year of his age and the 26 of his ministry." The other company held their meetings at Captain Mix's house for a while and then decided to build a meeting-house. They bought the lot on which the Methodist Church now stands and completed their building in 1795. A nephew of Captain Caleb Alling, whose name was Abraham, came to be looked upon as the leader of this Society and, some two years after the meeting-house was built, he was regularly ordained to be their pastor. The Reverend Abraham Alling continued in office for twenty-five years, till 1822, when he was dismissed at his own request. After this, he lived fifteen years and died July 22, 1837, at the age of eighty-three. The church of which he was pastor has had a fruitful and honorable history and is still flourishing as the Whitneyville Congregational Church, the organization having passed to another meeting place in a different locality.*

One of the certificates, which has a peculiar significance, testifies to a very early influence in the direction of the church of the Wesleys. It is dated, Hamden, November 29, 1791, and reads: "This may certify that Mr. Hezekiah Warner of said town has attended meeting and contributed for the support of the gospel in the First Society of Methodists in said town. Test, Eliada Hitchcock, Clerk." The *History*

* *Alling Genealogy*, pp. 229-233.

of Hamden gives the date of the beginning of Methodism in the town as "about 1810," but here is documentary proof of such an organization nearly twenty years before. The name of Hezekiah Warner in itself may well arrest attention, for he was a man of distinction in the community, intimately connected with some of the more influential families. His wife was Abiah Hitchcock. He was sixty years of age, with four sons and a daughter, and had brothers and sisters living near him with their families. He had been twice chosen as selectman. He and his wife had long been members of the Mount Carmel Church and he had repeatedly held responsible office in the Society. We can easily imagine that his neighbors and friends gathered about him as their leading citizen, very much as the people of the adjoining district did about Captain Alling, and that they constituted a group congenial in their attitude of mind and hungry for a warmer religious communion than they had found in the old meeting-house. In 1789, Jesse Lee, a pioneer of the Methodists in America, had visited New Haven and attracted to him a number of people. He might have had this Hezekiah Warner, and perhaps a few of his neighbors, among his listeners. Possibly he came out to Warner's house and held a service there, as President Stiles did on the Plains. No more definite particulars have come down to us of how this Methodist society was planted or of what became of it afterward.

A number of certificates of later date have reference to a society of Baptists in the northwest part of the town. The language used is very similar to that of the older papers. One, of 1809, states that Job Blakslee of Hamden had been a member of the Second Baptist Society of Wallingford for fifteen years. Another, of 1815, certifies that Ambrose and Levi Perkins have joined the Baptist Church and Society of Meriden. Then comes one of February 16, 1822, which reads: "I certify that in August 1817, I joined the Baptist Society in Hamden, and ever since and still do consider myself a member of that Society. Allen Gaylord." Prominent in this fellowship was Deacon Jesse Dickerman, who died in

1821, leaving a small legacy, the interest of which was to be applied to the support of a minister. The Reverend David Bradley had the oversight of this flock for more than thirty years. After Mr. Bradley's death, in 1854, the meetings of the circle were no longer continued.

The defection to the Episcopalian Church was much the most formidable. It was not a gathering of personal friends in a particular neighborhood. It belonged rather to a comprehensive design and was animated by a distinct purpose. There were vigorous and aggressive Episcopal societies in adjacent towns, in New Haven, North Haven, Wallingford, Cheshire, Waterbury, Derby, West Haven, and Branford. For over sixty years, the movement to discredit the ecclesiastical usages prevalent in the New England churches, which began in 1722, had been going on under zealous and able leadership. Originating in the diligent studies of a few eminent scholars of the New Haven Colony, it had gained the countenance of the established Church of England and eventually the financial assistance of the London Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; so that it had been in a position to take advantage of any discontent in the churches of the colony and to raise the standard of historic Episcopacy at the most opportune times. As a result, it was estimated, in 1774, that about one in thirteen of the inhabitants of Connecticut belonged to this constituency. In the Revolution, the Episcopal churches were usually on the side of the king and the invading army, which brought them into bitter popular disfavor. But with the close of the War and the establishment of an American Episcopate, which quickly followed, there came a reaction and their prosperity returned. Not only did the old royalists keep up their allegiance to the Episcopal Churches, but others of conservative leanings joined them, and new recruits, for various reasons, were added to their ranks.

Not unnaturally, therefore, a considerable number of the Mount Carmel people became Episcopalians. For years before, influences had been set in motion, especially from North Haven and Cheshire, to bring about this result. The

good people living in Mount Carmel were in associations too close and intimate with those of these adjoining communities not to share in the waves of thought and feeling which they experienced. When John Wetmore, the first pastor of the North Haven Church of the old order, suddenly surprised his congregation by turning Episcopalian, the sensation that followed had its effect in every one of those scattered homesteads that were starting into life over to the west of the Ridge and Mill River. When Samuel Andrews of Wallingford, a classmate of Benjamin Trumbull, went over to England in the spring of 1761, to obtain Episcopal ordination,* we can be sure that there were men and women in the new parish of Mount Carmel who were not so entirely absorbed in their new meeting-house and in plans for settling a minister that they were not a bit interested in the extraordinary course of that young man. And when Andrews returned from England as "an Ordained Priest," and entered on his service as a missionary in their immediate vicinity, it would have been strange indeed if none had had the curiosity to inquire about him or to see him in the performance of the canonical ritual. Then, to these intangible influences, were added the open activities of Reuben Ives, the rector at Cheshire, who held his charge there with the definite understanding that he was to employ a third of his time in drawing about him any people in the surrounding country who might be susceptible to his persuasions.†

After the Mount Carmel Episcopalians were organized at the house of Stephen Pardee in the spring of 1790, they held their worship in private houses, very much as the other groups met at the house of Caleb Alling, or at those of Captain Mix, Hezekiah Warner, and Jesse Dickerman. There was much to make such gatherings attractive, especially while they were the fashion and wore the charm of novelty. They had an atmosphere of sociability, besides being more comfortable in cold weather than were the gatherings in a

* Beardsley, *History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, Vol. I, p. 204.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 386, 397.

bare-walled, unheated building with hard benches for seats, such as the old meeting-house. So these Episcopalians, fond as they were of beautiful architecture and ritual, made the best of such accommodations as Pardee could provide, and a little later occupied a room in the house of Abraham Gilbert.

As soon, however, as things were favorable, they began to talk about building a church. In January, 1795, a site was decided upon and it was voted to build a church forty-four feet in length and thirty-four feet in width. The spot chosen was near the old meeting-house, on the opposite side of the street, a few rods to the north, fronting the ground on which the railroad station now stands. Work on the building proceeded rather slowly; it was two years before measures were taken to put in pews, and the pulpit was not added till 1812.*

The slow progress is easily accounted for. North Haven, with its St. John's Church, was not far away for most of the membership; and others above the Steps could go to the Cheshire church without much trouble. Besides, there was a scarcity of Episcopal ministers. Neither North Haven nor Cheshire could have one for the whole time but had to take turns with other communities. The Reverend Edward Blakeslee of North Haven officiated at Northford and Hamden as well as at St. John's, and Mr. Ives of Cheshire had to divide his ministrations in a similar way. If the Hamden society could have had their own minister on the ground to give his undivided attention to building the church, things would probably have moved faster. The problem of raising money, however, must have been serious. A group of men who had withdrawn from the old church to escape payment of taxes was hardly likely to be very free with voluntary offerings for the building up and maintaining of this new enterprise. In the circumstances, it is a wonder that the undertaking went through at all.

An event of some significance was the founding at Mount Carmel, in 1794, of a Masonic Lodge.† This took place at

* Coley, *History of Grace Church.*

† *History of Hamden*, pp. 224-226.

the house of Samuel Bellamy, the proprietor of the tavern, Mr. Bellamy himself being appointed Master of the Lodge and a number of prominent citizens being admitted to membership. Here was evidence of a fondness for liturgy and ornate ceremonials. May it not have been taken by Mr. Ives and his friends as a sign that people were tiring of the plainness in the old manner of worship and craving the more elaborate ceremonials of Episcopacy? Two of the citizens who became Masons were Amasa Bradley and Ezra Kimberly, who had already gone into the company that met at Stephen Pardee's; why might not all the others follow their lead into the new church? The Lodge was instituted on May 15, and on the fourth of December following, the Episcopal society voted that their committee should "procure the most convenient spot for building a church between the Steps and the road below Hezekiah Dickerman's," which pointed straight to the locality that was soon fixed upon, near the old meeting-house and right across the street from the tavern.

Another incident of the times was the founding of an Episcopal Academy for Connecticut. This had been proposed at a Convention in New Haven, and in furtherance of the project a committee had been appointed "to meet at Maj. Bellamy's tavern, Hamden, and establish the Academy in the town they should consider most eligible." The committee met on July 1, 1794, in the room, we may suppose, where the Masonic Lodge had been organized about six weeks before. The committee decided that the academy should be placed at Cheshire, and two years later the corner-stone was laid with Masonic honors.*

It may be well for us to glance at the political events that were taking place in those times. The great figure that attracted all eyes and quickened the throb of every loyal heart was George Washington. Elected by a unanimous vote to be the first President, he had been inaugurated in 1789. Four years later, in 1793, he was inaugurated a second time, having been reëlected with the same unanimity; and then, in

* Beach, *History of Cheshire*, p. 248.

1796, before the election of that year, he delivered his Farewell Address, memorable in all the years that have followed. We can hardly overestimate the play of influences that radiated abroad through the land from this man, who stood the impressive embodiment of American principles and purpose. He was the center of admiration everywhere. His example was more than a royal sanction for conduct. Anything in which he was interested was for that reason to be accepted without question and to be followed without hesitation.

Hence, because Washington happened to be a Freemason, a new popularity was given to the Masonic Lodge. It is easy to believe that this had much to do with the starting of that Lodge in Bellamy's tavern. Again, if we recall that Washington belonged to an Episcopal church, and was a vestryman, at Alexandria, Virginia, we can see that his example in this may have had weight in inclining not a few to the Episcopal communion. Doubtless a rising tide of popular favor on this account gave high hopes to these Hamden Episcopalians and encouraged them to go on with their undertaking.

The new church, however, was disappointing. There is no indication that many people were attracted to its services who had not before attended the meetings in private houses. The great body of substantial churchgoers still continued their worship at the old meeting-house. Accordingly, after a few years, in 1819, measures were taken for a removal to the center of the town. The old property was sold and a new edifice erected at Centerville, where it is still standing as the home of a prosperous society, unhampered by the competition of any other church in the immediate neighborhood.

XIII.

Farms as Schools of Pioneering.

TOWARD the close of the colonial period, the people of Connecticut began to reach out for farm lands beyond the borders of the state. The people were mostly farmers and needed arable land for tilling and pastures for their stock. The amount of ground that could be used for such purposes was quite limited; for a large part of the country was taken up with rocky ridges, and even the valleys were largely covered with boulders, gravel, and sand that had been laid down in old glacial movements. From the beginning, the settlers had to choose out the ground to be worked in small pieces here and there as it could be found, and let the rest go wild. Then, as the years went by, they carried their search for fertile soil farther and farther into the remoter parts of their territory till the whole was dotted over with homesteads surrounded with cultivated fields. After that, they had to look beyond their borders.

In Eastern Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, maritime interests were greater, and more people were engaged in sea-faring occupations. It was the same with New York, which had the seaport at Manhattan and thriving trade up the Hudson to Albany. But in Connecticut the people generally lived on their land. Most of them had to, if they lived at all. So they thought a great deal of their bits of ground and made out of them all they could. Farmers' boys grew up with the hunger for land very much as the lads of a sea-faring community are eager to go to sea. It was instinctive with them to go out pioneering.

This had much to do with shaping the character of Connecticut. It also accounts somewhat for her prosperity. The growth of her population, as compared with that of the adjacent territory of New York, is in point. The area of those parts of New York lying east of the Hudson, including Long Island, is about that of Connecticut. New York had

the start of Connecticut by many years, Manhattan having long been a trading center when the first settlements were planted at Windsor and New Haven. Yet, in the closing years of the colonial period, the population of Connecticut was much greater than that of her sister colony.* A certain explanation of this may be found, perhaps, in the large landed estates on either side of the Hudson, as compared with the small farms a few miles to the eastward.

The oldest of these was that of the Van Rensselaer family, begun as early as 1630 by a rich merchant who lived in Amsterdam and employed agents to trade with the Indians and take their lands in exchange for merchandise. He himself never saw America, but his property grew almost into an independent principality; so that, in 1650, a complaint was made by the authorities on Manhattan Island that the patroon forbade his tenants to appeal to them, ousted whomever he pleased, and allowed no one to live there but on such conditions as he laid down. This estate, lying on both sides of the river, reaching from twelve miles below Albany to twelve above and extending forty-eight miles across from east to west, covered a territory as large as two Connecticut counties. After the English came into possession of the land, estates with more restricted privileges were founded under the name of manors, but they were still of vast size. That of Frederic Philipse, lying between Yonkers and the Croton River, comprised three hundred and ninety square miles. North of this was the Van Cortlandt Manor consisting of two grants each twenty miles square. Next were the Romboudt and Verplanck manors, between the Fishkill and Wappinger creeks, several miles along the Hudson and going back sixteen miles into the interior. East of these lay the Beekman Manor; and, on the north, that of Robert Living-

* Dexter, in his "Estimates of Population in American Colonies," *Historical Papers*, p. 164, gives New York, in 1756, 96,790; Connecticut, over 130,000. The returns made in 1755 to the Board of Trade give, "according to the best account," New York, 55,000 and Connecticut, 100,000, whites only. (*New York Col. Docts.*, Vol. VI, p. 993.) Dexter's figures, which include blacks also, are much more reliable.

ston, which was sixteen miles long and twenty-four broad. We may not be warranted in assuming that conditions on these manors were similar to those on the Van Rensselaer property, but the existence of estates so vast is significant enough in itself. In 1701, the governor of the province wrote to the Board of Trade in London that not less than 7,000,000 acres had been given away in thirteen grants, and that all of them were uninhabited excepting the Van Rensselaer, on which stood the town of Albany.* In that same year, 1701-02, the three hundred and fifty-four land proprietors of New Haven carefully defined each one's share in the Sequestered Lands and made preparations for the Fourth Division, in which the shares averaged just about ten acres to the individual.

During the thirty years or so preceding the Revolution, Sir William Johnson was a conspicuous figure in colonial movements, particularly in dealing with the Indians, blocking the schemes of the French, and securing control of the Mohawk and Susquehanna valleys. Sir William came from England in 1741, to manage a great estate that had been granted to his uncle in the Mohawk valley, and in course of time he gained for himself another estate of 100,000 acres in the Susquehanna valley. Sir William clearly saw the importance of bringing in settlers to recover his domains from the wilderness and to bring them under cultivation. By making liberal offers to purchasers, he succeeded in attracting many thousands who afterward became a bulwark of strength in the Mohawk valley.† But before his time many immigrants came to the manors along the Hudson only to become disheartened, and to look elsewhere for more favorable conditions. Among these were a considerable number of Germans from the Palatinate, who came to the Livingston Manor in 1710, and then moved on to Schoharie County. From there, some of them went down the Susquehanna to southern Pennsylvania. For families whose enterprise had

* Halsey, ed., *Four Great Rivers*, pp. xxxiii-xxxvi. Albany was an incorporated city.

† *Ibid.*, pp. xlviii-lxv.

dared the hardships of a voyage across the Atlantic, it must have been a bitter surprise to find so many great estates under a system that could not allow them a freehold.

As the usage about land was very different in New York from what it was in Connecticut, so there were essential differences in other things. Some glimpses of conditions in the rural parts of New York are given in the *Journal* of Richard Smith of Burlington, New Jersey, who, in 1769, made a journey up the Hudson and Mohawk rivers to Canajoharie and then, crossing over to Otsego Lake, down the Susquehanna and Delaware to his home. His errand was to investigate a land grant in Otsego County, in which he was interested, and to find out what he could concerning prospects of improvement in the regions thereabout.*

Soon after leaving Yonkers, he makes this entry: "The country hereabout excels ours by far in fine prospects, but I conceive that our countrymen excel the people here in cultivation."† In talking with some of the tenants on great estates he found them dissatisfied with the terms upon which they held their leases. Thus he writes: "Our company went on shore up the rocks to a miserable farm and house in Orange and left with the farmer a direction for Otsego as he and a few of his neighbors seemed desirous to seek new habitations."‡ Further up the river, at the Beekman Manor, he writes again: "The houses are mean. We saw one piece of good meadow which is scarce here-away."§ Several times he speaks of good bottom lands fit for meadow but unimproved, or used for corn, peas, and wheat. Then he adds: "However there was one rich meadow improved."‖ Again, he says: "They hardly ever plough their upland." At Schenectady, he writes: "The Townspeople are supplied altogether with beef and pork from New England, most of the meadows being used for wheat, peas and other grain; however there

* Halsey, ed., *Four Great Rivers*, pp. 1-88.
† *Ibid.*, p. 5.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 6.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 10.
‖ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

are certain choice grass meadows about the place. . . . We did not observe any orchards or gardens worthy of attention."* He mentions cattle and hogs two or three times, but speaks oftener of horses, which seem to have been common and generally depended on for farm work and teaming. He tells of wagons drawn by two horses and of a two-wheeled plough drawn by three horses abreast with a boy on one of them.† The account is finally closed with a reference to the superior farms of New Jersey and Pennsylvania which he appreciates the more highly for the contrast.‡

In this narration it is noticeable that no mention is anywhere made of oxen or a cart or of manure for keeping up the fertility of the soil. We are told of neglect of meadows and the grass crop, indicating little hay and not very much stock raising. This is confirmed by the dependence of a town like Schenectady, with its three hundred houses, on New England for the beef and pork in its market.

President Dwight, writing in 1803 on the failure of the wheat crop in the Connecticut valley, laid it to the general use of animal manure which "produced noxious effects long after it had ceased to enrich the soil," and he supported this extraordinary theory by a reference to the successful wheat crops of Pennsylvania and the older settlements of New York, where the grain was "not exposed to the blast and cattle were not very numerous." Dwight was a great traveller and careful observer and, while his theory may cause a smile, his statement can be trusted about the prevalence of stock raising in New England and the neglect of it beyond the Hudson.§

Evidence of the practice in Connecticut is seen in the inventories made out at the settlement of estates and preserved in probate records. Thus, an inventory of William Gibbard's estate, in 1663, names two oxen, three cows and a calf, one heifer, two beasts two years old, one yearling, sheep, ten

* Halsey, ed., *Four Great Rivers*, pp. 22-23.
† *Ibid.*, p. 21.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 78.
§ Dwight, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 341-345.

swine in the woods if they are alive and can be found, five small swine at home; and in the woods, if they can be found and are alive, three mares, one horse, two mares two years old, two one-year-old colts. Here is the story of farm life some twenty-five years after the New Haven colony was started. By the side of this we may put an exhibit of a hundred years later, an inventory of Caleb Mix's estate in 1765, which mentions one horse, one mare, one pair of oxen, one bull, one three-year-old steer, two steers two years old, five yearlings, four cows, one two-year-old heifer, two cows and calves, one cow, thirty-one sheep, six ewes and lambs. The estate of Captain Daniel Bradley, appraised in 1773, has the following list: one horse, a cow and calf, two cows, a heifer, a pair of steers, two calves, one calf, six heifers, three swine.

The farms here represented were of the better sort but may be taken as fair specimens of the general usage. We find no records of cattle in large droves, such as may be seen on western ranches today; but a few animals of different sorts and various ages were a part of the natural belongings of every small farm. Gibbard's estate has a disproportionate number of horses. There are other indications that show more ventures in horse raising in that early period than were afterward undertaken. Evidently horses were found to be less profitable than other animals. Oxen were more economical because they could be turned into meat after having served their day at the plough and in other work. It was usual to keep on hand cattle of different ages, so that when the older were fattened for slaughter, the younger might come on to take their places in the work. A thrifty farmer saw to it that he always had a number of calves and two-year-olds growing up for later needs. It required constant care to have a good meat supply and to replenish it from year to year. Cellars contained barrels of pork and corned beef. The smoke-house had its full rows of hams, beef tongues, and hunks of dried beef, which went from there to the kitchen, a never-failing resource of the housewife.

So many animals made it necessary to raise a great deal of hay. The best land was put into meadow and treated with

scrupulous care, being turned over now and then to some other crop for a season or two, that it might be made more productive. Some of the worst land, too, was utilized for hay; wet, swampy ground that could not be ploughed might grow a coarse grass to be made into an inferior hay often used for bedding. Also the frequent stretches of salt meadow along the coast were cut up into small rectangles by a system of drainage ditches, each rectangle provided with a staddle. After the upland haying was over, farmers came down from long distances to cut the salt grass and make it into hay, which they built into symmetrical stacks to be taken off on sleds when the meadows were frozen in the winter. Often, at a distance from the homestead, there were pastures to which young cattle were driven in the spring and where they were left to graze at will, with occasional visits to see how they were doing, till late autumn, when they were brought back to the shelter of barns and kept on cornstalks and other fodder.

Nothing like this was to be seen in country where the people were not interested in live stock. Raising wheat and corn, peas, and beans, is quite another thing. And not the products only are different; the people themselves grow to be most unlike. Washington Irving has given us those charming pictures of *Sleepy Hollow* and *Rip Van Winkle* in illustration of the Dutch legends of the Catskills. They afford a glimpse of that old life about Irving's own home, in stories with which he was familiar. One could hardly fancy pictures like these in a Yankee setting among Connecticut hills and valleys. The legend here is not of a lifetime spent in any long drowse with a rusty gun under the trees, but of men awake to opportunities and reaching out to all sorts of new undertakings.

Richard Smith tells of a landing near the present town of Marlborough on the west side of the Hudson and remarks: "The New England men cross here and hereabouts almost daily for Susquehanna; their route is from hence to the Minisink's, accounted only forty miles distant, and we are told that seven hundred of their men are to be in that coun-

try by the first of June next."* This refers to a movement from Connecticut to the Wyoming valley that was going on at that time.

Connecticut had a legal claim to the northern part of Pennsylvania under the charter granted by Charles II in 1662, which specified the breadth of its territory west as "to the South Sea," or the Pacific Ocean. Conditions laid down in a subsequent grant to the Duke of York made the charter inoperative for the territory of New York, but beyond there the title was supposed to be valid. Unfortunately, the later grant of Charles to William Penn overlapped that of Connecticut and threw the claim into dispute. The Connecticut people went to great pains in the investigation of their rights by proper counsel, and took the further precaution of negotiating with the Indians of the Six Nations and buying out their claims for the sum of £2,000. Having thus satisfied themselves of the validity of their title, a good many people from Connecticut moved over and proceeded to take possession. They could do this, as the land had been unoccupied theretofore.

Their right to be in the Pennsylvania country was contested from the outset. The Pennsylvania authorities said they were intruders, while the Connecticut government supported and encouraged the settlers. When the Pennsylvania sheriff's warning was disregarded, measures were taken to drive out the settlers. Then violence was met with violence. Bold and adventurous spirits in larger numbers came on from Connecticut to defend the settlers. The struggle went on for many years and was called the "Pennanite War." In time, there were some 6,000 Connecticut people established in this new country, to which they gave the name of "Westmoreland." They instituted a government by town meeting, held elections, and sent their representatives to the legislature at New Haven and Hartford. To counteract their growth, Pennsylvanians were encouraged to buy land and settle in the immediate neighborhood. So the region was kept in a wild turmoil of bitter strife with not a little destruction

* Halsey, ed., *Four Great Rivers*, p. 8.

of property and bloodshed. The most shocking event was the Wyoming massacre, but the animosities that flamed out then were always alive, even when smouldering under aspects of tranquillity. Such was the story of some twenty-five years. Finally, after the Revolution and the establishment of the Federal Government, the United States Congress was called on to adjudicate the dispute and appointed commissioners for this purpose, which resulted in a decision against Connecticut and in favor of Pennsylvania.

It would seem as if a great deal of trouble might have been saved by a more conciliatory policy at the beginning. Early in the controversy, when Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania wrote to Governor Wolcott of Connecticut in remonstrance against the proposed settlement of Wyoming, the latter replied with the suggestion that the settlers should be made freeholders, arguing that, in those times of French aggression, they might have something "to fight for of their own." It was natural for a Connecticut man to think that it would be better to have those great wilderness tracts brought under cultivation by thousands of industrious farmers than to remain as they had been, a waste for wild beasts and roaming Indians. William Penn's policy was broad-minded. He began the occupation of his grant from Charles by opening it at once to settlers on the most generous terms, "a free colony for all mankind." He found some few Swedes, Dutch, and English already on the ground and conceded to these equal liberties with other settlers. He gave religious freedom, which attracted Quakers, Presbyterians, Mennonites, and Huguenots. So the population grew very fast; for a few years, at the rate of a thousand a year. If such a spirit had ruled when the first Connecticut pioneers found their way to Wyoming some compromise would surely have been found. And, had such a spirit ruled, after the decision of the congressional commission in favor of Pennsylvania, there would have been devised some better way of vindicating the dignity of the state than to dispossess so many worthy people, who had changed wild lands into prosperous and happy homesteads.

Though Congress disallowed the provision of the Connecticut charter as concerned Pennsylvania, it confirmed the charter as concerned Ohio, and established the "Western Reserve" under Connecticut jurisdiction. The moulding power of Connecticut in the growth of Ohio is beyond question. Connecticut pioneers did not a little for northern Pennsylvania, despite the difficulties that beset them. How much more they might have done if they had not been so sadly hindered cannot be known.

Note: An example of training for bold adventure is Stephen Rowe Bradley, see below, pp. 131-132. From a farm on the Cheshire border he worked his way through college, taught school, served in the army in the Revolutionary War, and studied law with Tapping Reeve at Litchfield. Then he went up into the Green Mountains to practice among the pioneers who had followed Ethan Allen to Ticonderoga. There he projected the formation of a new state and got it constituted and admitted to the Union as Vermont. He was then sent to the United States Senate and kept there for over twenty years, during which he was chosen to be president of the Senate. Especially significant was his vote in a great crisis, at the trial of Judge Chase, an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, in which the independence of the judiciary was at stake. The impeachment was made by the Jeffersonian party and Bradley was a Jeffersonian. Yet, comprehending how much this trial meant, Bradley drew back, sided with the Federalists and, followed by two others of his party defeated the impeachment. Beveridge says that the effect of this trial was "to settle the fate of John Marshall as Chief Justice of the United States, and to fix forever the place of the National Judiciary in the scheme of American government." (*The Life of John Marshall*, by Albert J. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 175.) As concerns Bradley, it reveals a man who put sound statesmanship above party regularity and had the strength of character to stand against an insidious temptation. The question is suggested whether his two brilliant contemporaries, Benedict Arnold and Aaron Burr, might not have kept a better moral balance if they had been started in life under sterner discipline.

XIV.

Migrations to Litchfield, Berkshire, and Vermont.

THE pioneer spirit which was dominant in all the early settlements continued in the times that followed. The restlessness that brought the fathers from their ancestral homes in England across the Atlantic reappeared in their children and grandchildren, impelling the more adventurous to strike out anew into the wilderness regions and start fresh settlements of their own. In this manner, the New Haven colonists speedily spread out beyond the two-mile circuit till the surrounding territory was occupied and vigorous communities grew up to the east, the west, and the north.

But enterprise did not pause there. With each new generation, there came a new lot of adventurers, eager to push on over untrodden paths to plant themselves in eligible places, however distant. The movement to distant regions began about as soon as it could after the territory within reach had been taken up. Indeed, sooner than that. Before the Bradleys went up to settle in the "fresh meadows" above the Steps, and before the Wallingford families got together in the little village of New Cheshire, pioneers found their way up the Connecticut valley to an outpost on the border of Vermont.

It was in the year 1717 that Benjamin Doolittle* planted himself thus at Northfield, Massachusetts. He and his neighbor, Samuel Hall,† had been students in Yale College while it was still at Saybrook and received their diplomas in 1716, the year in which the school was removed to New Haven. Hall became the pastor of the church in Cheshire at its organization, and Doolittle was ordained at Northfield to

* *Yale Biographies*, First Series, pp. 151-154.
† *Ibid.*, pp. 154-156.

a ministry which lasted in fruitfulness and honor to the end of his life. Doolittle was a physician and surgeon as well as preacher and thus multiplied his usefulness to the people all around Northfield. We can imagine that he was influenced to combine the two professions by the example of Dr. Jared Eliot of Clinton, in the near vicinity of Saybrook, of whom he must have heard a good deal while in college.

Before starting for Northfield, Dr. Doolittle was married to Lydia Todd, the eldest child of Samuel and Susanna (Tuttle) Todd of North Haven. The marriage was on the fourteenth of October, 1717, and in the autumn season of brilliant foliage and fair landscapes they made their wedding journey along the banks of the Connecticut to the picturesque spot among the hills that was thenceforth to be their home. Their family connections were many among the people who lived north of the Blue Hills, as well as to the south, and a host of friends were warmly interested in their departure. They regarded it, too, with no little anxiety, for they were going to parts still in danger of attack by Indians, who only a few years before had ravaged and stamped out one settlement on that very ground, and were now waiting, no doubt, to do the same by any other pioneers who might venture within their range. How it might fare with them was the theme of conversation in numerous households and the tidings that came back from them at infrequent intervals were passed around and listened to most eagerly. The proofs are abundant that their life at Northfield was very happy, and they had the usual gift of the pioneer's home, a large family of sons and daughters.

At the time when the New Haven families living above the Blue Hills were associated with the Cheshire people in their worship, the pastor, the Reverend Samuel Hall, had with him a nephew, Lyman Hall,* whom he was tutoring to enter college. This young man, a native of Wallingford, was graduated from Yale in 1747 and then returned to study theology with his uncle, after which he was ordained and preached for two or three years in what is now Bridgeport.

* *Yale Biographies*, Second Series, pp. 116-119.

He seems not to have been altogether successful in his pastorate. He taught school a while, pursued a course in medicine, and became a practicing physician. He married and lost his wife. Then, in 1757, he made up his mind to try a new country. So he sailed for the south. Arriving in Charleston, he found that the people of Dorchester, an old New England settlement in that neighborhood, were about to quit the plantations on which they had lived some sixty years, and to go down the coast to start anew about thirty miles below Savannah. He joined them, obtained a tract of land in the new country, and went into the enterprise with the determination to do all in his power to build up a model community. His occupation as a practicing physician brought him into a position of unusual influence. Choice people were attracted to the place and prosperity followed. In a few years St. John's Parish, as the district was named, contained nearly a third of the wealth of the Georgia colony, and Hall was quite the leading man there. When the troubles with the royal government came on, he took a pronounced stand for independence and carried the settlement with him. The rest of the colony was slower in moving. So St. John's Parish went ahead, chose Hall as their delegate to the Continental Congress, and sent him on to Philadelphia, where he was unanimously seated. A few weeks later, the rest of the colony fell in with this lead and he became the delegate for the whole colony, in which position he was continued by successive appointments. So he was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. In retaliation, St. John's Parish was furiously ravaged by the British and Hall's own property was confiscated. In the end, however, he was vindicated in the triumph of the Revolution, and, returning to Georgia after the War, he was elected by the people as the first governor of that state.

Another man of national celebrity from this neighborhood was Stephen Rowe Bradley.* He was a son of Moses Bradley, the youngest of those brothers who built houses, about 1730, on the newly opened lands by the southern border of

* *Yale Biographies*, Third Series, pp. 549-552.

Cheshire. He was graduated from Yale in 1775, the year of the Battle of Bunker Hill. In college, he had been a somewhat irrepressible boy and, among other things, got out an almanac of two thousand copies. Afterward he taught school, served in the Army with some distinction, and studied law with Tapping Reeve of Litchfield. Then, he took the road up the Connecticut River to Westminster, some twenty miles above Brattleboro, where he obtained admittance to the bar in May, 1779, and started in the practice of law, with the purpose, however, of becoming a political leader. In the following October, he was chosen by the legislature to appear before the United States Congress to advocate the right of Vermont to an independent government and prepared an address which was put into print. He was representative in the legislature a number of terms, in one of which he was speaker of the House. When Vermont was admitted to the Union in 1791, he was chosen United States Senator and was kept in that position most of the time for the twenty-two years that followed.

His wife was Merab Atwater of Cheshire and they had a son, William Czar Bradley, who, like his father, was in political life, representing Vermont in the United States Congress two terms and occupying many other responsible positions in national and state affairs.

During the period of over sixty years between Dr. Doolittle's settlement at Northfield in 1717 and Bradley's in Westminster in 1779 there were great changes, particularly in the growth of communities and the spread of settlers into the wilder regions of New England. In the early part of the period, western Massachusetts and the territory to the north were menaced by the Indians, so that people did not venture far from protected positions to make a home. In the Connecticut valley above Springfield, they kept near the river at Northampton, Hadley, Hatfield, Deerfield, and did not carry their clearing of forests many miles eastward or westward. These river towns were seventy or eighty years old when the settlement was undertaken at Amherst, only five or six miles back from the river, and it is a local tradition that

the Hadley and Hatfield people expected nothing better of it than that their friends would fall by the Indians' hatchets or be lost in the swamps and forests. With the end of the second French and Indian War, the terror of the Indians ceased in New England; it became safe to strike out almost anywhere into the back country.

One of the results of the French and Indian Wars was to give the young men who were engaged in them larger views of life, a broader knowledge of the world and of the times in which they lived. It made them familiar with the country through which they marched in their campaigns, opened before them opportunities for new settlements, and awakened their ambition to have a personal part in the improvement of such chances.

In this period, the northwestern part of Connecticut attracted many settlers from the older towns. After 1732, large tracts of territory in this region came into the market and a number of new towns were named. Among these was Goshen, probably named from the pastures of Egypt which Pharaoh gave to the sons of Jacob. This town was divided into lots and sold at auction in New Haven in 1737. Timothy Tuttle of Cheshire bid off one of the lots for his son Timothy, who went out there two years later and put up a house. Having married Hannah Wadhams, the daughter of a settler from Middletown, the young man set about improving his property and became one of the substantial citizens of the new community. He had a family of six sons and five daughters, most of whom married and had numerous children, who in turn dispersed and played an important part in many other towns.* A church was organized promptly in Goshen and, in 1740, Stephen Heaton of North Haven, a Yale graduate of 1733, was ordained to be its minister.

In the same year, Samuel Todd† of North Haven, a younger brother of Mrs. Benjamin Doolittle, having taken his degree at Yale in 1734, became pastor of the church in Northbury, which is now the town of Plymouth. After a

* *The Tuttle Family*, p. 513.

† *Yale Biographies*, First Series, pp. 516-518.

ministry of twenty years in this place, he went to Lanesborough, Massachusetts. Thence he went to North Adams, where he gathered a church and was its minister from 1766 to 1768. Then he went over to Northfield, where he had a son living as well as a sister. He and his wife were there till 1782 and then removed to Orford, New Hampshire, where he died in 1789.

Another North Haven man, Jehiel Tuttle, was in Barkhamsted before 1760 and about ten years later went to Torringford, where he remained and left a family that figured in the subsequent life of that community. Lazarus Ives, 2d, and his brother Asa also went to Goshen and became prominent there.

Especially noteworthy was the going of Joseph Bellamy* of Cheshire to Bethlehem. He was graduated from Yale in 1735 and was licensed to preach in 1737, whereupon he betook himself to the new country of Bethlehem to undertake evangelical work among people without the usual religious privileges. It was not long before he had gathered a church, of which he was ordained the pastor in 1740. He continued in this position nearly fifty years, until his death in 1789. On account of his great abilities and remarkable personality, Bethlehem grew to be a center of religious influence for all the region around and, indeed, for the whole of New England, through the young men who came in considerable numbers to pursue their studies in theology under Dr. Bellamy's guidance. As one thinks of the eminence to which he attained in this small out-of-the-way place, it is natural to ask how much his choice of a field had to do with Dr. Bellamy's greatness. May not his escape into the wilderness, out of reach of traditional trammels and into close companionship with lumbermen and farmers, have served to give him independence of thought, clearness of conviction, and boldness to stand up against other theologians with a sort of imperiousness that was the terror of timid opponents?

It was near the end of the French and Indian Wars when

* *Yale Biographies*, First Series, pp. 523-529.

the Mount Carmel Parish was established in 1757. The movement of pioneers to the frontiers was already well under way. Perhaps this was a hindrance to the orderly development of society there. One can imagine that the wish to keep the young people from leaving may have had something to do with starting a new parish. As things turned out, however, and strifes arose over church affairs, we can well believe that many of the finest and most promising of them became so disgusted that they wanted to get away from the quarrels, and so were the more attracted to pioneering. The indications of this are plain.

A movement of settlers to Berkshire County, Massachusetts, seems to have been closely connected with the movement of troops through this region for the operations about Lake George and Ticonderoga. Connecticut bore a prominent part in these campaigns, sometimes having as many as a thousand men in the field; and there is proof of Mount Carmel's bearing her full share. What she did for the state militia is shown by the number of commissioned officers here between 1749 and 1760; the captains were Theophilus Goodyear, Daniel Bradley, Jason Bradley, Jonathan Ives, and Phineas Castle; the lieutenants were Amos Bradley, Jesse Blakeslee, Nathaniel Tuttle, and Joel Munson; and Amos Peck, Solomon Doolittle, and Jacob Atwater were ensigns. In the rolls of troops who marched from New Haven on September 12, 1755, are found the following from Mount Carmel: Joel Munson, Ebenezer Beach, Asa Goodyear, Noah Woolcot, Joel Bradley, Ebenezer Woolcot, Alvin Bradley, Stephen Cooper, Jr., and Allen Cooper. In the campaign of 1757, "at the time of the alarm for the relief of Fort William Henry," these are named: Ithamar Todd, Abner Todd, Jonathan Alling, Jesse Blakeslee, Dan Carrington, John Munson, Daniel Rexford, Elisha Chapman, Amos Alling, William Payne, John Grannis, Timothy Leak, Ebenezer Warner, Joseph Warner, Uri Tuttle, Daniel Bradley, and his three sons, William, Jabez, and Jesse. Daniel Bradley himself, as a captain, went in command of a

company from Fairfield,* "each of whom rode a horse," and they no doubt took the route up the Housatonic valley; while the others went the nearer way from this part of the state.

The line of march from this neighborhood was probably over the usual road to Farmington, thence by the Litchfield highway as far as Harwinton, where a road struck off to the north through Colebrook to New Marlborough, Great Barrington, Stockbridge, and on to Lanesborough, where a fort had been built for a defence against hostile incursions. After leaving Farmington, the route was through a comparatively new country in which houses and cultivated fields were by no means common. Harwinton, New Marlborough, Great Barrington, and Stockbridge each had a church and settled minister; but nowhere else in the whole distance was there another village that had attained to this dignity.

The tramp over this road must have told these farmers a deal about the country that they did not know before. In particular, it made them acquainted with Berkshire and its abounding opportunities: its wooded hills and fertile valleys watered with cool springs and clear flowing brooks, spreading out before the eye at one point and another, just as they do today, in charming landscapes to delight the passer-by. Especially were they likely to become familiar with Lanesborough, which, with its fort, seems to have been the natural rendezvous from which to advance against the enemy. Things were interesting there. Three or four settlers had planted themselves in this spot in 1754, and a few more in the neighborhood to the south, then called Pontoosuc, now the city of Pittsfield; but, with the outbreak of the War, all had fled to safer ground, and what was left for the troops to look upon was their deserted homes and farms running to waste and ruin. The troops had come to fight the marauders, to make these farms secure, and to enable their owners to come back and live there again. They must have had a good deal to say about the return of the refugees, the rebuilding

* Daniel Bradley's sister Esther was the wife of Samuel Gold of Fairfield.

of the place, and the likelihood of prosperity in years to follow. And it would not have been strange if some of them had felt that they might like to have a hand in the undertaking.

One can easily imagine Captain Bradley and his three sons as having such an interest in the situation; together, perhaps, looking about over the good farm lands, sizing up the advantages for stock raising, counting on the value of standing timber, and estimating the chances for any new settlers that might come up from Connecticut to this new country. However this may have been, it was not very long after the War before one of the sons actually came to Lanesborough and made his home there.

The refugees began to return in 1759 and in the summer of 1762 William Bradley removed thither with his family, consisting of a wife and four little boys. Mention is made of him at a meeting of the settlers in the April preceding the arrival of his family, when he was chosen one of a committee to provide preaching, which indicates that he was already well known and highly enough regarded for such a responsibility.* We may therefore conclude that he himself was in Lanesborough some time before; that he had bought property and become identified with the community; probably employing his time in building a house and planting his ground in preparation for the establishment of his family there.

The journey was made in the month of June, over the same road, no doubt, that the troops had taken a few years earlier; but by this time it had become a more travelled route and there were more farmhouses along the way. It must have taken a full week, however, if not more, to make the journey. The life on the road may have been something like that of gypsies. We can imagine household stuff of all kinds and farm utensils loaded upon one or two big carts drawn by oxen; while the mother probably rode horseback with a child in her arms, and perhaps another on a pillion behind; a cow was necessary to afford milk morning and evening, and

* Holland, *History of Western Massachusetts*, Vol. II, p. 340.

most likely other farm animals helped to lengthen the train. It would have been natural to have one or two of their old neighbors to help on the journey, or one or two of the brothers who were especially interested. In the hands of the men there would have been at least one gun to bring down any game that might come in sight and thereby to help out their food supply. Altogether, it may well have been a jolly enterprise. With the leaves and blossoms coming out on the trees, wild flowers springing up by the roadside, and song birds filling the air with mirth, the fun should have put the trouble of it into the background. Arrived at the end of their journey on June 24, we can be sure that they had a hearty welcome from their new neighbors and were soon at home among them; filled with delight, too, at the fair country around, in which they had come to live.

The new community speedily took on an air of prosperity. Harmony prevailed; a Congregational church was formed in March, 1764, about two months later than the one at Mount Carmel and, in the following April, a minister was ordained to be their pastor, Daniel Collins, a graduate of Yale in 1760 and a classmate of Simeon Bristol of Mount Carmel. So this community was happier in its ecclesiastical affairs than the one from which the Bradleys had come. In other respects, also, the family seems to have been contented with their lot; other children were born, till there were eight in all, and their home was one of comfort and abundance.

This had its influence on those who had remained near the old place in Connecticut. About 1770, Jesse Bradley made up his mind to follow his older brother's example; went up to Berkshire; found a farm to suit him a few miles south of Lanesborough, in what is now the town of Lee, and removed thither with his family. He then had a wife and seven children, so that the change was even more of an undertaking than it had been for William. Hardly had he become well settled in his new home, when Elisha Bradley, his cousin, bought a farm in Stockbridge and removed his family to that place, not many miles from either Lanesborough or Lee. Elisha's father had died when he was a child and his uncle

Daniel had been appointed his guardian; so he had been almost like another son among Captain Daniel's five boys, a little younger than William and a little older than Jesse, but the constant companion of both. At the time of his removal, he had a wife and eight children, a little larger group than even Jesse's. Elisha had been prominent in the society and church at Mount Carmel beyond either of the others, and his departure must have been seriously felt in the troubled state of things that prevailed there. He found a field, however, of equal if not greater usefulness in Stockbridge, as William had done at Lanesborough and Jesse in the near neighborhood of Lee.

These three Bradleys with their large families filled no small place in their several communities, not only at that time, but in years that followed. William did a great deal for Lanesborough. Jesse at Lee served on committees of the church and society; was a captain of militia, selectman, moderator of town meeting, surveyor, and deacon. Elisha at Stockbridge was a deacon, and his three older sons, Lent, Josiah, and Asahel, all served in the Army of the Revolution.

Other kinsfolk of these families, a few years later, followed them into Berkshire. Jabez Bradley, 2d, a son of the Jabez who was there as a soldier in the campaign of 1757, came to Lee and settled down near his uncle Jesse; also his wife's father, Eli Bradley, and her brother, Heman, were there for a time, having come from the southern part of Mount Carmel. These did not remain long but removed eventually to a settlement in the Mohawk valley, as will be narrated in due time. There is a story in the family, too, about a visit of Jabez's sister Hannah, the wife of Jonathan Alling of Barkhamsted, with her little daughter Mary, at her brother's house, her husband being away from home in the Continental Army.

At about this time James Ives removed from Mount Carmel to Great Barrington, where he bore the title of captain and reared a family. Thomas Ives of North Haven also went to Great Barrington and was distinguished as a justice

of the peace and a major general. The name of Joel Dickerman is on the Massachusetts militia rolls as from Stockbridge; he was probably the son of Jonathan Dickerman of Mount Carmel. Ebenezer Atwater, with his wife, Rachel Parker, was in a party which was among the early settlers in North Adams before 1778.

Berkshire County was largely settled at the outset by people from the western half of Connecticut. The families that have been named represent contributions from the vicinity of New Haven, not unlike those from many towns. In keeping with this was the habit of the settlers in looking to Yale College for their ministers; almost all of whom were educated there.* Thus, the early pastors at Sheffield were Jonathan Hubbard, John Keep, and Ephraim Judson; at New Marlborough, Thomas Strong, Caleb Alexander, and Jacob Catlin; at Great Barrington, Samuel Hopkins; at Stockbridge, John Sergeant, Jonathan Edwards, and Stephen West; at Williamstown, Whitman Welch, Seth Swift, and Ebenezer Fitch, the first president of Williams College; at Richmond, Job Swift and David Perry; at Lanesborough, Daniel Collins; at Egremont, Eliphalet Steele; at Adams, Samuel Todd; at Lenox, Samuel Munson; at Becket, Zadoc Hunn; at Tyringham, Adonijah Bidwell; and at Windsor, David Avery; also Gideon Bostwick, who was an Episcopal missionary for Lanesborough, Lenox, and Great Barrington. All these were Yale graduates and most of them were natives of Connecticut. This general movement from Connecticut is to be accounted for by the greater ease with which the Berkshire region could be entered from these parts than from eastern Massachusetts. People from the older Massachusetts towns who wished to move to the frontier were more attracted by New Hampshire and Maine, which could be reached with much less difficulty than was involved in the journey over the ranges of rugged hills between them and Berkshire.

Some of the Connecticut people, however, chose to go up

* Hodges, "Yale Graduates in Western Massachusetts," N. H. Col. Hist. Soc., *Papers*, Vol. IV, pp. 253-298.

the Connecticut valley, as Benjamin Doolittle and Stephen Rowe Bradley had done. One of these was John Dickerman, whose father had left him as a part of his inheritance some land in Mount Carmel. Unlike his cousins, Samuel and Jonathan, he sold his lands about New Haven and went to Vermont, not far from the time that William Bradley went to Lanesborough. He settled at Brattleboro first, but after a few years removed to Lyndon in the northern part of the state. He had nine children, of whom the older ones remained in Connecticut; but the others grew up in Vermont, some of them leaving families which are represented there at the present time, while several went to other parts of the country.*

About a mile south of Daniel Bradley's place in Mount Carmel was the homestead of John Hitchcock, who also attended worship at Cheshire before the new meeting-house was built. In his family were five sons and five daughters, most of whom married and brought up their families not many miles from the old home. But two of the sons removed to Claremont, New Hampshire, some forty miles above Brattleboro on the east side of the river. John Hitchcock, 3d, was one of six men who began the settlement there in 1767. Another of the six was Benjamin Tyler of Wallingford, who started a mill at Claremont. Tyler had a daughter Phebe, to whom Hitchcock was married in 1774. A year later Ichabod Hitchcock, a younger brother, joined the pioneers. He had married Rebekah Pardee at Mount Carmel and had a little child. An account of the journey says that another man came with them. The men walked and drove a yoke of oxen, with a cart containing the goods and provisions for both families, while the women rode horseback and carried the baby, and they were fourteen days on the way. Ichabod was a master carpenter and for many years the only man in town who knew how to put up a frame house. He was also a farmer and his farm remained in the family over a hundred years.†

* *Dickerman Genealogy*, pp. 231-277.

† *Hitchcock Genealogy*, p. 71.

Rebekah Pardee was a daughter of Benjamin and Hannah (Beecher) Pardee, who lived in the Centerville neighborhood. Her oldest sister, Lowly, was the wife of Samuel Dickerman, 2d. A brother, Levi, and four sisters, Hannah, Mary, Abigail, and Anna, all removed to Claremont. Levi married Jerusha Jones, Mary married Asa Jones, Jr., and Anna married Josiah Jones, all of whom were children of Lieutenant Asa and Sarah (Treadwell) Jones, who came to Claremont from Colchester, Connecticut, in 1768. Hannah married Ebenezer Sperry, and Abigail married Ephraim Tyler, who was from Wallingford.

A number of other Wallingford people were in the settlement at Claremont. One of the oldest gravestones there bears the name of Benedick Roys; another, that of Newton Whittlesey. Timothy Grannis of North Haven was a settler there. Several of the early inhabitants bore the name of Andrews; Whiting Andrews, Amos Andrews, Benjamin Andrews, and Mrs. Eunice Andrews Barnes. When the Reverend Samuel Andrews made his missionary tours in northern New England, he found at Claremont not a few whom he had known in Connecticut, quite a number of kinsfolk, and, undoubtedly many of his former parishioners. This may have had a good deal to do with the early formation of an Episcopal church in Claremont and made the visitations of Mr. Andrews especially happy.*

On the western side of the Green Mountains was another field to which many came from this New Haven neighborhood, helping in the settlement of Rutland, Wallingford, Vermont, and Mount Holly. This movement came soon after the Revolutionary War. A number of those engaged in it were grandchildren of Samuel Dickerman, who was one of the foremost in starting the Mount Carmel Parish. He died in 1760, before his hopes were realized. His children were all young at that time and none of them was married. But as they grew up, most of them had large families, some sixty-seven grandchildren, for whom there was hardly room

* Beardsley, *History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, pp. 271, 292.

The Schoolhouse

This Schoolhouse stood on the brow of the hill across the way from the Meeting-house

Ives Dam

Whence came the power that drove the Ives factories

enough or a sufficiently promising outlook about the old nest. The oldest son, Isaac, had six sons and a daughter. Four of his sons, Simeon, Amasa, Lyman, and Isaac went to Mount Holly, where they were prosperous and all had large families. Susanna Dickerman, a daughter of Samuel, married Wait Chatterton, 2d, and went to Rutland with him as early as 1785. There, he became a man of prominence and a deacon of the church. A granddaughter, Mary Munson, married Henry Mead in 1788 and also made her home in Rutland. Ruth Dickerman, a sister of Samuel, married Eliakim Hall of Wallingford; four of their grandsons, Abner, Moseley, Isaac, and Day Hall, settled in Wallingford, Vermont, and gave the place its name; and their granddaughter, Mary Hall, married Philip Edgerton and lived in Rutland. Ruel Todd of Mount Carmel was another settler at Mount Holly; so also were Benjamin and Titus Bradley. Isaac Munson of New Haven, too, was among those who went to the new Wallingford. These settlers had large families, which became distributed in the country around and were a considerable element in the population of Vermont.

The naming of Wallingford, Vermont, illustrates a practice quite common among pioneers, that of calling their new community after some old town from which they came. Thus, in Vermont, we find these names of Connecticut towns: New Haven, Hartford, Middletown, Norwich, Waterbury, Windsor, Fairfield, Fair Haven, Woodstock, Guilford, Stamford, Salisbury, Colchester, Sharon, Canaan, Bristol, Woodbury, Cornwall, Roxbury, Coventry, Essex, Middlebury, Weathersfield, Bethel, Hartland, Wolcott, Groton, Berlin, Brookfield, Chester, Derby, Weston, Reading, Plymouth, and Orange. These names show in a general way how large was the flow of Connecticut people to this new region and how they flocked thither from all parts of the old commonwealth. A somewhat similar inflow came also from eastern Massachusetts and the older portions of New Hampshire.

A good many of the Mount Carmel adventurers, however, went to other fields. One of Samuel Dickerman's

daughters married Captain Phineas Castle and went to Waterbury, whence their numerous children scattered elsewhere. Daniel Rexford and his three sons, Daniel, William, and Joel, removed to Barkhamsted, as did Captain Jonathan Alling also. Noah Atwater became the pastor of the church in Westfield, Massachusetts, where he continued twenty years, till the end of his life. Especially interesting is the story of Samuel Dickerman Munson, a grandson of Joel Munson and also of Samuel Dickerman. About 1790, he went to Truro on Cape Cod, where he married Elizabeth Lombard. Thence he removed to New Sharon, Maine, where he had four children, the youngest of whom, also named Samuel, was educated at Bowdoin and Andover, and then went out with Henry Lyman under the American Board to be a missionary in Java. The two young men had only entered fairly on their work when they were killed by savage natives. Munson left a little son who was brought back to Maine and grew up to be a captain in the Union Army in the Civil War.

XV.

The Susquehanna Frontier.

THE spread of families from the old colonial communities into the wilder parts of New England which followed the French and Indian Wars was a preparation for the wider dispersion to Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio, which came soon after and grew to large proportions at the close of the Revolutionary War. With the fashion of pioneering once established, it came to be looked upon as a less formidable undertaking to pull up and set out for a new country. Those who had moved once were sometimes quite ready to move again when an attractive project was proposed; and their sons and daughters were especially inclined to repeat the rather romantic experiences of their parents in going to the frontier. In the staid old communities, too, the stories told of pioneer life had an influence. Occasional visits of the pioneers to their early homes kept the people there informed of how they fared and what they were doing; and we can be sure that the actual attractions of the frontier lost nothing in the accounts that were given. Young men and women, eagerly listening to such glowing stories, fell under their charm and were easily drawn to join in schemes for new settlements as they unfolded from time to time.

It may be remembered that one of the first settlers of the town of Goshen was Timothy Tuttle, Jr., who went there from Cheshire in 1738. He had eleven children, and among them a son Ichabod, who was with the troops enlisted for Ticonderoga in 1775. Returning from that expedition, Ichabod removed with his family to Wyoming, Pennsylvania, where they settled down with others to make their home. So it happened that they were caught in the massacre of 1778. Tuttle was killed, one of the one hundred and fifty-nine who shared the same fate; but his wife and three little chil-

dren, getting away with their lives, made their way back to Connecticut.*

In the years that followed, a number of Cheshire people went to Wyoming, or, as it began to be called, Susquehanna County. Among them were seven brothers, sons of Ephraim and Susanna (Hotchkiss) Smith, whose names were Roswell, Ephraim, Titus, Raymond, Anson, Silvester, and Lyman;† also Rufus Lines, Asa Cornwell, and Asa Bradley, recorded as baptized in Cheshire between 1774 and 1779; and besides these, Benjamin and Obed Doolittle, Enoch and Theophilus Merriman,‡ Ezra, Enos, and Friend Tuttle, all from the neighborhood of Cheshire, and most of them connected with Mount Carmel families. Rufus Lines and Titus Smith were on the ground in September, 1797, having come from Great Bend over a new road, which they, with other men from Connecticut, had cut through the forest to Lawsville. They returned to Connecticut for the winter. In the following February, Titus Smith and his older brother Ephraim went out with a sled and oxen, loaded with provisions and tools. Using the sled for a frame, they rigged up a shelter of boughs which served them for some time, until they could prepare something better to live in. In 1800, Friend Tuttle came, and with him David Tuttle, who was afterward joined by his father, Enos Tuttle; also Theophilus Merriman, whose wife Sarah was a sister of Rufus Lines. Obed Doolittle was there in 1802, or 1803, when he superintended the building of a saw mill. By 1805, Ralph Lines, Asa Cornwell, and Roswell and Raymond Smith had joined the settlers. The wife of Enos Tuttle was Candace Hotchkiss, a sister of Susanna (Hotchkiss) Smith, the mother of the seven Smith brothers; which illustrates the close family relationships among the settlers. The first marriage in the settlement was on May 21, 1804, when Friend Tuttle married Eunice Lines, a daughter of Rufus and Tamar Lines.§

* *The Tuttle Family*, p. 521.
† *Ibid.*, p. 532.
‡ *Merriman Genealogy*, p. 165.
§ Blackman, *History of the Susquehanna Company*, pp. 263-270.

Another of these pioneers was Ezra Tuttle. His father, Zophar, had removed with his family, in 1775, to Wethersfield, Vermont, having his older brother Benoni with him. Wethersfield is just across the Connecticut River from Claremont, New Hampshire, whose settlers were largely from the Mount Carmel neighborhood. In 1801, Ezra Tuttle, who then had a family of six children, started with Gideon Lyman, also of Wethersfield, for a new settlement in Susquehanna County, where now is the town of Springville. They drove, all the way from Vermont, some three hundred miles, a team of two horses, another with one horse, and two cows. The oldest of the children, a son, Abiathar, was then about thirteen, and was no doubt an effective help on the journey, as well as in clearing the ground for their new house, which was the first built in Springville. He proved himself an energetic character throughout his life, which was extended to a great age. Zophar Tuttle is said to have died early; and his widow, Hannah (Doolittle) Tuttle, married Jonah Blakeslee and had three other sons, Benjamin, Zophar, and Aaron, who went out to the settlement about 1801, and lived near their half-brother, Ezra Tuttle.*

Benjamin Doolittle, in 1799, bought 600 acres of land in Willingsborough, and was living there in 1801. His mother was Esther Tuttle, a daughter of Nathaniel Tuttle of Mount Carmel. He was unmarried when he came, but in due time found a wife in Fanny Ward, a daughter of Ichabod Ward, who was later on the ground; arriving from Litchfield County in 1807. The place was afterward known as New Milford. Their children were Nelson, Albert, George, Harry, Benjamin, and Lydia. The family eventually removed to Ohio.†

The first settlers from Connecticut crossed the Hudson to Catskill, or, according to Richard Smith's *Journal*, further south, near Marlborough, and followed trails thence to the head of Delaware River near Harpersfield, on to Wattles' Ferry at the north end of Unadilla village, and from there

* Blackman, pp. 408-410.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 147, 152; *The Tuttle Family*, pp. 217, 257, 640.

down the Susquehanna to Great Bend.* The Indian school at Oghwaga, in the neighborhood of Unadilla, had long been a center of missionary effort and the route to this point was therefore familiar to travellers from New England;† consequently, when the settlers began to look to the new country for eligible lands, it was quite natural for them to go over the same paths. In their coming we can be sure that they brought along with them a great many things to which the natives were not accustomed. They sometimes came with pack horses, to be sure, but more often they had ox teams, with heavily loaded sleds to be drawn over the snow in winter or with strongly built carts, equally well laden, in other seasons of the year. On these loads was to be seen almost everything belonging to a Connecticut farmhouse and the village life of those times: household goods and kitchen utensils, feather beds, blankets and chests of linen; spinning wheels, churns, and baskets; ploughs, not the Dutch sort with two wheels which needed three horses to pull them, but a smaller affair that could be used with a single horse, or a yoke of oxen; axes, spades, hoes, and carpenter's tools; the equipment for a blacksmith's shop; and the lasts, awls, leather, wax, and thread to set up a shoemaker at his trade. In those trains of new settlers, not only the men, women, and children themselves, but all their belongings, went over the Hudson and plunged into the wilderness beyond. The settlers took with them the wherewithal for reproducing on virgin soil the old life to which they were habituated, with its patient industry, careful thrift, inventive shrewdness, and dogged persistence.

The *History of Susquehanna County* gives some vivid reminiscences of J. B. Buck, who belonged to a Connecticut family that figured prominently in the Wyoming settlements, from which are taken the following excerpts:‡

> When my father came to Red Rock, it was all wild. . . . There for five years he had to pound the grain in a mortar to make flour

* Halsey, ed., *Four Great Rivers*, p. 8.

† Halsey, *The Old New York Frontier*, pp. 27-29.

‡ Blackman, pp. 57-59.

and bread. There I was born, when but few whites were there, but hundreds of Indians often passed up and down. There were no roads, nothing but a path in the woods.

Here was found great abundance of wild animals of different kinds, and birds also. When out late at evening we were often followed by panthers, but never molested. At one time the wolves drove a deer upon the ice on the Susquehanna, not far from our house, and caught it. After devouring it they had a frolic. We had a horn made of a sea-shell. We ran out with the horn and after watching them at their play sounded the horn. They stopped and ran up the river for dear life. There were fifteen.

I well remember the first wagon brought here. It was drawn by four oxen. Father bought the fore wheels and uncle the hind ones. The tires were in six pieces for each wheel, spiked on.

Fire was obtained either by flashing powder or with the flint and steel. It was always expected that fire would be kept on every hearth. If by neglect the fire went out it was common for families to send half a mile to a neighbor's for fire.

The first house and the one in which I was born was built in an exceedingly primitive style. One huge log nearly made one side of the house. The floor was made of strips split, or halves of logs flattened; the roof was covered with "shakes" four feet long; the beams overhead extended beyond the body of the house some five or six feet, making a stoop or piazza from the roof of which in autumn used to hang the seed corn for the ensuing year. The house was situated near a fine spring of water. . . . We had no stoves, no carpets; we needed none. We had an immense fireplace and the forest all around us. The day found us busy; the night gathered us around the broad stone hearth, glowing with a well piled fire, where we recounted the hopes, adventures and news of the day.

For years we had no other evening light than that from the blazing hearth-fire, pine-knots, or a candle. The only way we had for lighting a candle was by means of a sliver from the wood-pile, or by taking a live coal from the fire and blowing it with the breath until it glowed, and then placing the wick of the candle against it.

Our food was mainly meat from the forest, bread, vegetables, short-cakes, johnny-cakes and buckwheat pancakes. We used to eat our venison cooked in various ways. A venison steak is epicurean and reckoned among the best of backwoods dishes. Our bread was baked in a flat, shallow cast-iron kettle, set upon coals, with coals heaped upon the cover. Our biscuits were baked in a tin oven, shaped like

a letter V, so arranged as to heat both the top and bottom of the biscuits. Our short-cakes were baked in a long-handled frying-pan, heated at the bottom with coals and by the glowing fire at the top. . . . If the fireplace was well supplied with necessaries, it had an iron crane, from which cooking utensils could be suspended at a greater or less height above the fire. The crane wanting, its place was supplied by some other device for suspending the pots, generally trammels, an exceedingly clumsy arrangement by which a vessel used in cooking must be suspended from a pole, crossing the chimney high enough above the fire not to burn.

Did the good housewife desire to get breakfast, she first filled the tea-kettle and hung it over the fire, or set it on fresh coals, drawn from the wood fire, on the hearth to boil. She then put her meat to frying in a spider, having legs about three inches long, by setting it on fresh coals. Her potatoes, if boiled, were put in a pot and hung over the fire. If she desired pancakes they were baked on a round griddle suspended over the fire; when the griddle was hot enough she swung out the crane and put on the batter; one side baked, the crane was swung out, the cakes turned, and swung in again; when done it was again swung out, the cakes removed and another batch spread on.

Wolves were exceedingly troublesome to the early settlers. They would enter the fold at night and kill sheep and lambs, and, sucking the blood and eating a portion of the flesh, would leave the flock ruined for the farmer's coming. In those days each family made its own cloth for all the various purposes. The clothing of the father, the mother, the sons and the daughters was the handiwork of the busy mother. The flesh was also a reliance for food. Hence the loss of the sheep was a dire calamity. The sheep for many years had to be yarded close by the house. The ducks, geese and chickens also had to be protected at night.

This tells how folks lived in those times, not in one settlement only, but first on the farms throughout New England, whence usages were carried abroad wherever the people went. They made a great deal of raising cattle at their old homes and they did the same after crossing the Hudson. They looked out for pasture land and meadows for growing hay, as they had done always, and they ploughed their ground with oxen or a plough drawn by one horse, just as when they lived in Connecticut. They had been used to

catching shad in the Quinnipiac and other streams that flowed into Long Island Sound, and they found they could catch them just as well in the Delaware and the Susquehanna. They picked huckleberries after haying in Connecticut and they kept up the practice in Pennsylvania. So also in their religious habits: the old usage of family prayers was carried over into the log cabin in the woods; the toils of the week were brought to a pause on Saturday night and preparation was made for a quiet Lord's Day and the services of worship.

Connecticut people went to the Susquehanna country in large numbers because their colonial charter, as they supposed, assured them a right in the land. They set out from all parts of the state, but more especially from the western counties. Several brothers by the name of Buck figured prominently among the earlier pioneers, one in 1774, and others in the years that immediately followed. Of these Daniel Buck was in the militia of New Milford, Connecticut, in 1758; went to Vermont in 1762; then to a place near Albany; and finally, in 1786, came to the Great Bend settlement. He was twice married and had seventeen children, of whom sixteen lived to have families of their own, some in Pennsylvania and others in New York. These, with his brothers' families, were a considerable contribution to the population. Another family from New Milford was that of Oliver Trowbridge, who removed in 1796. The people coming from this neighborhood no doubt gave its name to the Pennsylvania town of New Milford. Jonathan Dimon came to Willingsborough from Fairfield County in 1791. Isaac Hale, a native of Waterbury, who had spent a number of years with his grandfather at Wells on the western border of Vermont, made a visit to the settlement in the fall of 1787; then went back to Wells and married Elizabeth Lewis, whose brother Nathaniel also had a young wife and was equally keen for a new home on the Susquehanna. Lewis had a yoke of steers and a cart; both couples loaded on their belongings and made the journey together, arriving in due

time at Great Bend.* Ozias Strong was a native of Coventry, and his wife, Susannah West, of the adjoining town of Tolland; they were in Lenox and Lee, Massachusetts, from 1757 to 1787, when they removed with their family to Great Bend. A number of the settlers were from Norwich—Joseph Chapman, a sea captain, and his son Joseph; Andrew Tracy and his wife and three children, with his wife's sister, Betsey Leffingwell; also Charles Miner, who, fifty years after, gave an account of his journey with several others in midwinter, in a sleigh, from Norwich to Hopbottom, covering sixteen days, from February 12 to February 28, 1779.†

It must not be supposed, however, that the settlers who sought this Susquehanna country were all Connecticut people. Thomas Parke and his brother Henry came, in 1796, from Charlestown, Rhode Island. They were sons of Benjamin Parke, who was killed at the Battle of Bunker Hill, and had been brought up by their grandfather, who gave them a good education. John Baker, who came in 1789, was a native of Hatfield, Massachusetts. But, most important of all, was a company from Attleboro, Massachusetts, who got together in the fall of 1789 "to seek ampler room in some new region and on cheaper soil." There were nine of them, all but one under thirty years of age: Hosea Tiffany, Caleb Richardson, Ezekiel Titus, Robert Follet, John Carpenter, Moses Thacher, Daniel Carpenter, Samuel Thacher, and Josiah Carpenter. In the following April, they set out for Albany where they made inquiries about the lands of the Mohawk valley; looked with some favor on the neighborhood of Cherry Valley; and then accepted the invitation of a real estate agent named William Cooper to go down the Susquehanna and see some lands a hundred miles south of there, which he had in his charge. They arrived at Great Bend on May 16. On their way from Massachusetts, they had seen snow a foot and a half deep, but in Pennsylvania the trees were in full leaf. They were charmed with the country. Going out into the wilderness to the south, they spent some

* Blackman, pp. 53-103.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 114-117.

days in looking over the field, and then bought for £1,198 a tract four miles long and one mile broad, which became known as the "Nine Partner's Purchase." The party then returned to Attleboro to attend to affairs at home. In the fall of the year, nearly all went out again, having several others with them and taking an ox team, tools, clothing, and provisions. They worked on the ground till late in the season and then returned home, to come out again in the following spring in time for planting. They spent the summer there, returning once more in the autumn to Attleboro. In February of the next year, they started out, taking their wives and children, and were a month on the journey, which was by ox team as usual, and arrived early in March. This was the beginning of the Harford settlement, which grew from year to year by fresh accessions from the old Massachusetts neighborhood.* Among these was the family of John Tyler, the grandfather of Professor William S. Tyler of Amherst College, who went out in the fall of 1794, as narrated in Professor Tyler's *Life*.

The pioneers under the claims of the Connecticut charter, beginning their adventures in 1757, had a long struggle full of hardship and suffering only to meet with bitter disappointment in the end. Those who followed them, after 1782, and obtained their titles under Pennsylvania laws, could hold their property unmolested and live at peace with their neighbors. Their experience, therefore, was happier in all ways and their settlements enjoyed that stability which is essential to real prosperity.

* Blackman, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-179.

XVI.

Cabins in the New York Woods.

THE territory lying east of the Hudson and adjacent to Connecticut, with the chances it offered for pioneering, was not likely to be wholly overlooked by Connecticut people. The enterprise that early crossed the Sound to plant a settlement on Long Island, and sent a colony to found Newark in New Jersey, could not well be blind to opportunities on that western frontier. The openings for speculation there were the more inviting, perhaps, because the boundary was not sharply defined until 1734, and some thought that the New York lands extended over to the Housatonic River. Hence, to the east of the great estates along the Hudson, there were tracts that could be regarded as "unappropriated," and these became a field for exploitation.*

One of the earliest pioneers in this region, if not the very earliest, was Captain Richard Sackett. This man is supposed by the historian of the Sackett family to have been a son of Jonathan Sackett of New Haven; but no evidence is found to establish this opinion. In 1699, he was the owner of a malt-house and brewery in New York City, and was married in that year to Margery L. Sleade, which identifies him fully with that community. Three years later, in 1703, with several associates, he petitioned the government for permission to purchase of the Indians a certain tract of unappropriated lands in Dutchess County. The permission was given, the purchase made, and a patent to what was called "Wassaic," covering 7,500 acres, was granted. Among the patentees appears the name of Joseph Sackett, whose kinship to Richard is not clear.† In 1711, Captain Richard Sackett took his family from New York City and went up to Wassaic to make his home. At that time, it is said, there was not another

* *History of Little Nine Partners*, pp. 3-8.

† Weygant, *The Sacketts of America*, pp. 55-56.

white family nearer than Poughkeepsie, Woodbury, and New Milford, or within a radius of fifteen miles.

Joseph Sackett seems to have held some sort of title to lands on account of the Wassaic patent, for in his will, recorded in Poughkeepsie, he bequeathed all of his property in Dutchess County to his son Samuel, who afterward settled near Huns Lake and had a large family.

Another Joseph Sackett, who was born in 1712, was the only child of Lieutenant Joseph and Sarah (Denison) Sackett of New Haven. He married, after 1742, Abigail (Rowe) Ives, widow of Stephen Ives, and went out to Nine Partners, which was in the vicinity of Wassaic; and both were living there in 1796, when they gave a conveyance to land in Hamden, the deed being witnessed by Samuel and Betsey Sackett. Probably this Joseph was distantly related to the earlier Dutchess County Sacketts, but certainly not in the way set forth in the *Sackett Genealogy*.*

These beginnings of pioneering in Dutchess County were followed by the movement of other settlers from New Haven. Among these were Asa Alling and his bride, who went out soon after their marriage in 1749. At nearly the same time, and we can imagine in the same company, Caleb Atwater of Cedar Hill, with his wife and large family of children, also removed to Dutchess County.† There is reason to think that many others besides these, at about that period, were attracted to this promising frontier from the neighborhood of New Haven. The historian of Little Nine Partners speaks of the early settlers of North East as coming principally from New England;‡ and in lists of men living there in 1755, at the opening of the Revolution, one reads such New Haven names as Allen, Atwater, Austin, Bishop, Mansfield, Peck, Row, Talmadge, Thompson, and Trowbridge, and such other colonial names as Bulkley, Hawley, Holmes, Mead, Reynols, Rice, Townsend, Woodward, and White, which indicate their family relationships. The going of Dr.

* Note of D. L. Jacobus.

† *Atwater Genealogy*, p. 118.

‡ *History of Little Nine Partners*, p. 38.

Austin Munson to Claverack may have had some connection with this general movement. Another removal from Mount Carmel, in 1755, of John Munson to Hebron, New York, some fifty miles above Troy, connects itself more naturally with the drift to Berkshire and Vermont.*

After the Revolutionary War, the country beyond the Hudson came into the market and was open for settlement as it never had been before. The lands of those who had taken up arms against the Colonial Cause were confiscated and vast tracts came into the ownership of the state, from which pioneers could buy holdings, and, quite in contrast with those who settled in Wyoming, could get secure titles. Moreover, there was no longer much reason to be afraid of Indians. The power of the Indians was broken, and the few who still haunted the woods were as likely to be useful as to do any harm. Richard Smith in his *Journal* tells how useful he found them and describes how the Indians with his party made a house for them in a time of storm:

> Our Indians in half an hour erected a house capable of sheltering us from the wet, for it rained most of the day and night succeeding. They place four crotched stakes in the earth, the two front ones being tallest. On these are rested poles which are crossed by other poles and these are covered with wide hemlock bark; a large cheerful fire being soon raised in the front, they completed our kitchen and bed chamber, wherein after broiling salt pork for supper we rested, prepared by fatigue, very comfortably.

Probably most of the men who came out into this new country to look for an attractive spot on which to settle began their life on the frontier in an abode something like this, before they had time to fell the trees and build a substantial log cabin.

A place of no little interest in New York history is the village of Homer in Cortland County; and the interest is the greater for a certain connection that it had in early days with the people of Great Bend in Pennsylvania. Homer is on the Tioghnioga River, which is a tributary of the Susquehanna,

* *Munson Record*, p. 573.

and by going down this stream to Chenango Forks, thence down the Chenango to its mouth, and thence up the Susquehanna, one could more easily get to Great Bend than to some nearer settlements.

There came to this spot in the Tioghnioga valley in 1791 a company of three persons from North Haven, Joseph Beebe and his wife Rhoda, with her younger brother, Amos Todd, a member of the numerous Todd family which scattered abroad from the North Haven neighborhood.* After starting in and making a lodge to shelter them from the rain and cold, it became necessary for the men to go out after supplies and the wherewithal to carry on their work, as was always the case in pioneering, and Mrs. Beebe was left alone for some six weeks during the winter, taking care of herself and looking after the premises as best she could till her husband and brother returned. We have no way of finding out where the two men went on this errand, but within the two years following one of them, Amos Todd, came into very intimate relations with the family of Ozias Strong, so that in April, 1794, he was married to Lurana Strong and took her with him to the new home he had made in the Tioghnioga valley. Life there proved so attractive that about a year later Mr. Strong himself moved thither with his family and became a member of the new community; and, after having sojourned in Coventry, Lee, and Great Bend, he found there an abode in which to pass the remainder of his days.† Nor was this all. Mrs. Todd was the youngest of six sisters; and, besides these, she had six brothers. All the sisters married and eventually came there with their families to live, though the home of one of them was at Hartford, a few miles away from Homer. Three or four of the brothers also brought their families to Homer. The families were most of them large, making a group of over sixty cousins. Several of these families afterward went to Ohio and settled at Lyme, Huron County, about 1814. The mother of Mrs. Beebe and her

* *The Tuttle Family*, p. 702; *Centennial of the Congregational Church of Homer.*

† *History of Susquehanna County*, pp. 53-55.

brother, Amos Todd, Mrs. Penina (Peck) Todd, came on from North Haven to live with them, having previously married David Hotchkiss of Broome County.*

The settlement which was thus started in the clearing of the Beebes and the Todds grew with great rapidity. The valley that was so attractive to the Strongs was equally attractive to others coming from different parts of New England. Among these were Joshua Atwater, with his wife, Betsey Goodyear, and their family of eight children, who came from the Cedar Hill district of Hamden, close by East Rock. In all, there were eight sons and two daughters in this family, who grew up and most of them had large families of their own. The eldest son, Ezra, lived in Homer, and his youngest daughter, Jane Isabel Atwater, married Dr. Moses C. White and became a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church to Foo Chow, China. Another son, Eli Atwater, lived in Sempronius, Cayuga County, New York.† Amos lived in Westfield, New York, but finally went to Beardstown, Illinois; Asa G. Atwater lived in Arcade, New York; Thomas, in Chautauqua County; Joseph remained in Homer, where he was a teacher and county superintendent of schools. Dr. Andrew D. White, a native of Homer, says in his *Autobiography:*

> Hither came toward the close of the eighteenth century a body of sturdy New Englanders and among them my grandfathers and grandmothers. Those on my father's side, Asa White and Clara Keep from Munson, Mass.; those on my mother's side, Andrew Dickson from Middlefield, Mass., and Ruth Hall from Guilford, Conn.‡

These pilgrims from the east, as they came together in an orderly community, set up a church of the kind to which they had been accustomed, and a school for the education of their children. Not satisfied with the privileges thus afforded, they soon took a further step in the institution of Cortland Academy, whose superiority drew to itself students, not only

* *Strong Genealogy*, p. 459.
† *Atwater Genealogy*, pp. 146, 149.
‡ *Autobiography of Andrew D. White.*

from neighboring towns in New York, but from the communities of northern Pennsylvania. Homer thus became a distinctly educational center and had a wide influence.*

In the same year that Beebe and Todd broke ground for the first homestead in the Tioghnioga valley, 1791, Dan Bradley went from Mount Carmel to Whitestown in the Mohawk valley, to be followed somewhat later by his cousin, Joel Bradley; his brother, Jabez Bradley, 2d; his cousin, William Bradley; his sister and her husband, Colonel Samuel Bellamy; Eli Bradley and his sons, Heman and Miles, from the southern part of the Mount Carmel Parish; and a number with other names, Goodyear, Atwater, Todd, Sperry, and Doolittle, who distributed themselves over the central and western portions of the state.

Whitestown had its name from Hugh White of Middletown, Connecticut, who came to the spot and began to make his home there in the spring of 1784, less than a year after Congress had ratified the treaty of peace with Great Britain. Probably he was the first to undertake settlement in the Mohawk region after the War. He, with three others, owned what was known as the Sadaquada Patent. The others were Zephaniah Platt, Ezra L'Hommedieu, and Melancthon Smith. The four agreed to meet on the ground in the summer of 1784 to make a survey and divide the property. White went to the meeting with the purpose of staying, and took along his four grown-up sons, a daughter, and a daughter-in-law. They seem to have made the journey by water, sailing down the Connecticut, through the Sound, and up the Hudson to Albany, where they crossed over to Schenectady by carry and took rowboats up the Mohawk to the mouth of Sauquoit Creek. Landing there, they put up a shanty to house them while the survey was going on. The Patent having been bounded and divided, they built a log house and proceeded to clear the land for future cultivation. With the coming on of cold weather, the father went back to Middletown for his wife and the rest of the family; and the following spring all were there for permanency. Whites-

* Bacon, *Theodore T. Munger*, pp. 21-28.

town, as defined in 1788, had for its eastern boundary a line crossing the Mohawk where Utica now stands and going north and south across the state; all of central and western New York being covered by the town organization.*

This was the settlement to which Dan Bradley† came in 1791. He established himself in the particular part of it afterward known as New Hartford, which was some four miles south of where the Whites lived. He came there to preach as a licentiate of the New Haven Association, having received his diploma from Yale College in 1798 and having been employed the two following years in a course of theology with the Reverend Dr. Jonathan Edwards. Dr. Edwards was at that time the chairman of a committee of the Connecticut General Association for looking after "the scattered back settlements in the wilderness to the northwestward,"‡ and Bradley went to Whitestown on his recommendation. A family tradition says: "That he organized there in June 1791 a religious society," which was preparatory to the organization of the church in Whitestown that was effected on August 27 following, when Dr. Edwards himself was present and guided proceedings. The church was started as Congregational, but like many others of similar origin, it afterward became Presbyterian; it claims to have been the first church of any denomination in the state west of the longitude of Utica. Having had so favorable an introduction to this young man and having enjoyed his services with them long enough to be satisfied that he was the minister they wanted, the people by a unanimous vote, on October 31, invited him to become their pastor. Upon his acceptance, they passed another vote: "That Capt. Oliver Collins, Col. Jedediah Sanger, Mr. Joseph Higby, Capt. John Tillotson, Mr. Elias Hopkins and Mr. Salmon Butler be a committee to wait on Mr. Bradley at his ordination without fees"; a significant thing that so many men of prominence in the place should have been willing to take the long journey to

* Barber and Howe, *Historical Collections, New York*, pp. 378-379.
† *Yale Biographies*, Fourth Series, pp. 628-629.
‡ *Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut*, p. 164.

Connecticut at their own expense. The ordination was at Mount Carmel on January 11, 1792, the sermon being by Dr. Edwards, and, in the following February, Mr. Bradley was on the ground as pastor. He had been married in the fall of 1790, and had, not only a wife, but a little daughter about six months old, with whom to enter upon his ministry.*

It is disappointing to record that a pastorate so favorably begun did not prove to be a long one; and that, after only three years, Mr. Bradley turned to other pursuits. The reason for this is not clear. After his purpose had been made known, efforts were made to persuade him to withdraw from the step. He probably became convinced that he was not at his best in the routine of a parish. We must believe, too, that he was eager to have a hand in the big doings of that new country with its boundless promise. Anyhow, he was dismissed in December, 1794, and in the autumn of 1795, removed some fifty miles westward, to an inviting region at the northern end of Lake Skaneateles that was being opened, and started in afresh at what is now Marcellus Falls.

He knew farming as it was in his old home north of the Blue Hills; and made up his mind to know it as it ought to be in western New York. He was bent on making a model farm that would stand as an example to all the farmers in the neighborhood around; what the late Dr. Seaman A. Knapp, in his fight with the Texas boll weevil, called a "Demonstration Farm." After clearing the land, breaking the ground, and undertaking tillage as best he could according to the old ways, he went to work in search of something better. He read and thought and made experiments, talked his schemes over with his neighbors and got the results of their experience to add to his own. He brought the farmers together in a club, which was named the "Onondaga County Agricultural Society," and they made him their first president. Then, as he came to understand better the things that belonged to good farming and stock raising, he wrote able discussions on various topics and sent them to the agricultural journals that were beginning to appear in different

* *Centennial, Presbyterian Church, New Hartford,* 1891.

parts of the country—the *Genesee Farmer*, the *New England Farmer*, the *Baltimore Farmer*, the *Plough Boy*—and in this way his vigorous thought was made to tell in a wide field. So he grew to be a recognized intellectual leader and won the respect and confidence of the people to such a degree that they made him associate judge of the court of common pleas, and then chief judge of the county.*

Judge Bradley brought up a family of nine children, most of whom married and had children and grandchildren that are widely distributed in many parts of this country and in other lands. One son, the Reverend Dan Beach Bradley, M.D., became the pioneer of the American Missionary Association in Bangkok, Siam, where he started to practice as a physician, translated a part of the Bible, had an alphabet of the Siamese language cast, and printed a Bible for the Siamese people. He was not only a distinguished missionary, but the father of missionaries. One daughter became the wife of the Reverend Daniel McGilvary, and with him opened and built up the remarkable mission to the Lāos in Chiengmai, in northern Siam; another daughter married Marion Adolphus Cheek, M.D., and, with him, became an important assistant in the work at Chiengmai; while others of the family bore their part in various fields of endeavor.† One son, Cornelius Beach Bradley, has been for many years a professor in the University of California at Berkeley; and another son is the Reverend Dan Freeman Bradley, D.D., the pastor of the Plymouth Congregational Church of Cleveland, Ohio.

One of Dan Bradley's traits was his fondness for his friends, answered in turn by their fondness for him and love of being with him; which partly accounts for the fact that so many went out to the frontier after him.

Dan's cousin, Joel Bradley,‡ was two years younger than

* *Yale Biographies*, Fourth Series, pp. 628-629.

† Information regarding the missionary enterprises of Dr. Bradley and his family may be obtained from an exceedingly interesting narrative, published by the Fleming H. Revell Company, entitled, *A Half Century among the Siamese and the Lāos; An Autobiography*, by Daniel McGilvary, D.D.

‡ *Yale Biographies*, Fourth Series, pp. 630-631.

he, but their homes were very near, so that they were together a great deal in their boyhood days; then they went to college at the same time, pursued their course as classmates and were both graduated in 1789; after which they took their training for the ministry together under the tutelage of Dr. Jonathan Edwards. So it is not very strange that after Dan had become established at New Hartford, Joel should have come on to be ordained pastor of a newly organized church at Westmoreland, some fifteen miles from that place. On that occasion, July 16, 1793, the Reverend Ammi Robbins of Norfolk, Connecticut, preached the sermon, and the Reverend Dan Bradley gave the right hand of fellowship. The first settler in Westmoreland was James Deane, a native of Groton, Connecticut, who was educated in Dartmouth College, and after his graduation in 1773 went out among the Indians as a teacher; serving as an Indian agent and interpreter at Fort Stanwix during the Revolutionary War; at the close of which he was granted a tract of land near Rome, which he exchanged for a tract in Westmoreland, whither he removed in 1786. Joel Bradley's pastorate was a happy one and continued till the year 1800, when he was dismissed and became the pastor of a church at Ballston Springs, where he continued his ministry till 1811. On account of ill health, he then resigned and returned to Westmoreland to live among his old people; but he soon removed to Clinton, near by, where he taught for a number of years in the academy there, giving his family at the same time the unusual educational privileges of that college town. Finally, with his health so far restored as to allow him to resume the ministry, he became the pastor of the Presbyterian church of Orville in Onondaga County, only a few miles from the home of Dan, which must have added much to the enjoyment of his declining days.

The Reverend Joel Bradley had a family of three sons and five daughters, all of whom lived to a good age and married, making their homes in different parts of the country. Several had families. They were people of cultivation and had many attractive qualities, exerting a fine influence in

the communities where they lived. The eldest son was Dr. Samuel Beach Bradley, a physician, of Greece, New York. Another son was the Reverend Joel E. Bradley, who died at Phoenixville, Pennsylvania, in 1883. A somewhat extended record of the family may be found in the *Dickerman Genealogy*.*

When Dan Bradley brought his family from Connecticut to his parish at Whitestown, he took with him his niece, Mary, the elder daughter of his deceased sister Hannah, who had married Captain Jonathan Alling and lived in Colebrook. She was then a maiden of sixteen and no doubt filled an important place in the new home. Something over a year later, July 14, 1793, she was married to Adonijah Tillotson of Whitestown, the service being performed by the bride's uncle. In the following year, Mr. Bradley went to Mount Carmel on business connected with the settlement of his mother's estate, and on his return he brought back with him Mary's sister, Chloe Alling, who became a member of the household in a similar way, and journeyed with the family when they removed to Onondaga County. Eventually, she became acquainted with Miles Bradley and was married to him on November 6, 1796. These nieces had one brother, Rodolph, younger than they, who also came to the same neighborhood and married a wife named Theodotia; both Rodolph and his wife died early and left two orphan girls who were taken into the home of their Aunt Chloe and generously cared for.† Mr. Bradley's youngest sister, Lue, who was then twenty years of age, went out to pay him a visit, apparently on the same trip with Chloe Alling; she became ill, however, and died in her brother's home.‡

The action of Dan Bradley in going from New Hartford to Onondaga County was no doubt influenced somewhat by the course of his older brother Jabez. This brother had lived a number of years in Lee, Massachusetts, where his uncle Jesse was; but in the summer of 1793, the year following

* Pp. 579-584.
† C. C. C. Bradley's MSS.
‡ Gravestone at Mount Carmel.

Dan's settlement at Whitestown, he took a journey out to the New York frontier and, arriving at the spot where the village of Northville now stands, in Cayuga County, proceeded to build a house. The historian of Northville says that "he was the first to break the forest at this point," and then adds that "he moved in with his family in February 1794, and the May following his fifth child, Dan, was born, who was said to have been the first male child born in the town of Milton." How much his brother may have had to do with Jabez's removal to this spot we can only imagine, but the naming of the boy Dan is suggestive of intimate relations between the two. It is not unlikely that the mother may have come on to Whitestown with her husband and tarried there with her children while he went on into the wilderness and got the home ready for them.*

In the following May, Jabez's cousin William, a son of Captain Jesse Bradley, appeared on the scene, having come from Lee on foot. He went into the woods to the south of where Jabez was and built himself a sort of camp, covering it with elm bark to keep out the rain, and cleared up the land around, working until fall, when he went back to Lee and taught a school there through the winter. Upon the opening of spring and the closing of school, he returned to his lodge, continuing operations there till the next fall, and then going back again to teach. He repeated this for three or four years till he had things in such shape as to warrant his bringing a wife to the spot; then on January 3, 1798, he was married to Tabitha Hamlin of Lee, and brought her out to share his pioneering. Long after, in her old age, Mrs. Bradley told a friend of her early married life:

> We had a hole cut through the logs for a window without sash or glass for a window and a blanket hung up in place of a door. My husband worked hard clearing in the woods. I cooked the dinner, and taking that with my child would go where he was, and seated together by the side of a log we would eat it. I came when this country was all a wilderness and have lived to see it a flower garden; but those were the happiest days of my life.

* *Centennial, First Parish Church*, Genoa.

During the summer that followed the coming of Jabez's family and the arrival of William, the two brothers of Jabez's wife, Heman Bradley and Miles, joined them from Mount Carmel, to be followed later on by their parents, Eli and Esther (Goodyear) Bradley. These latter had all lived a number of years at Lee, but had gone back to their old Connecticut home, from which they made this second removal. The particular part of the settlement on which these pioneers planted themselves was long known thereafter as "Bradleys' Corner."

In Holland's *History of Western Massachusetts*, it is stated that Captain Jesse Bradley and Eli Bradley performed service in the Revolutionary War. It is known that lands in Cayuga County were, some of them, granted to soldiers for military service and it seems likely that the right to these wild lands was obtained in this way. We can thus account for the selection of this place for the Bradleys' settlement.*

Cayuga County was included in Onondaga County until 1799, and the distance between Marcellus and Genoa was some twenty-five or thirty miles. When Dan came over into Onondaga County to undertake his enterprise in farming, his new home was near enough to that of Jabez to make them not very remote neighbors and to afford a sort of companionship in developing the new country. We can be sure that this brought no little encouragement and satisfaction to both of them in the passing of the years; especially as other friends from the east were added to their numbers from time to time and the region became more populous. It is said of the town of Milton, the name of which was afterward changed to Genoa, that, in 1793, the whole number of families was twelve; and that this was increased, by the next spring, to forty; and, in 1800, the census gave a population of 3,553; which shows how rapid was the multiplication of settlers.†

* Vol. II, p. 515.

† Barber and Howe, *Historical Collections*, p. 80.

XVII.

Up the Mohawk and Beyond.

THE sturdy men and brave women who strike out together into distant lands to transform a tangled waste into productive fields do not usually have to wait long for companions in their enterprise. At any rate, they did not at Bradleys' Corner.

Mary Alling came very soon with her husband, Adonijah Tillotson, from New Hartford; and they were soon joined by his two brothers, John and Matthew; all three originally from Massachusetts and known respectively by the titles, Captain, General, and Colonel. They arrived in 1794. A little later, Chloe Alling, having come on from New Hartford with the Reverend Dan Bradley at the time of his removal to Marcellus, joined her sister, Mrs. Tillotson; then went to live with her uncle Jabez; and, in 1796, became the wife of Miles Bradley. Then came the brother, Rodolph Alling, uniting the three children of Captain Jonathan and Hannah (Bradley) Alling, for the first time, probably, since their separation in Connecticut. Captain Alling, having married a second time, and then a third, eventually found a home in Smithboro, Tioga County, where he died. A daughter of the second marriage, Hannah, married John Light and had a large family of twelve children at Smithboro.

A younger sister of Dan and Jabez Bradley was Lois, who had married Tully Crosby at Mount Carmel and, by his early death, in 1794, had been left a widow with one little child. She, too, found her way to Genoa and in course of time became the wife of Deacon John Stoyell of Moravia, in the immediate neighborhood of her old friends. Deacon Stoyell had come from New London County, Connecticut, in 1790, and bought of a Dutchman a large tract of land through which flows the Owasco, furnishing good water-power for a saw mill and grist mill that he built.*

* C. C. C. Bradley's MSS.

Again, Deacon William Bradley, as he was called after the organization of the church in 1798 and his election to that office in 1800, was not very long without other members of his father's family near him. His brother Lemi, who had married Ruth Newell of Lenox in 1795, joined him in Genoa very early; and after a time Daniel Bradley, the youngest of Captain Jesse's family, with his wife, Patience Cooper, followed on to make their home at Groton, in Tompkins County, a few miles south of Genoa, but near enough for neighborly intercourse.

Before leaving Mount Carmel, Eli Bradley and his family lived in a neighborhood largely made up of people who bore the names of Goodyear and Atwater. Mrs. Eli Bradley was herself a Goodyear. It is not strange, therefore, that families with these names were among the early settlers in this New York community.

In Mount Carmel Parish affairs, Captain Samuel Atwater was a leading man, having a prominence among the people below the Steps very much like that of Captain Daniel Bradley among those living to the north. He had a family of thirteen children, ten of whom grew to manhood and womanhood; most of them married and had large families of their own. Among the children were John Atwater, who married Susannah Goodyear; Caleb Atwater, who married Thankful Cotter; Susannah Atwater, who married Joseph Goodyear, and Sarah Atwater, who never married. All of these removed to Genoa and "settled on the Ridge road south" of Northville, apparently about 1794. An older sister, Abigail Atwater, married Titus Goodyear and continued to live in the vicinity of the old home at Mount Carmel; but their son, John Goodyear, afterward came to Genoa, and after a time married Julia Bradley, a daughter of Jabez; and another son, Dr. Miles Goodyear, after his medical course at Yale, began practice as a physician at Genoa, but soon removed to the village of Cortland, where he passed his professional life and attained to wide distinction. One of the sisters of Jabez Bradley who remained in Connecticut married Asa Goodyear, Jr., who was in Genoa for a time; and a

son of theirs, Charles Goodyear, came to Genoa after his uncle's death in 1817, and lived for a short time with his aunt. These Atwater and Goodyear families contained a considerable number of children when they came from Connecticut, and the number became larger in the years that followed their arrival.*

In going from New England to western New York, people went by different ways. The Bradleys went through Albany and up the Mohawk River. A daughter of Mrs. Chloe Alling Bradley has left this account of her mother's journey with the Reverend Dan Bradley from New Hartford: "Mother assisted in the care of the children, coming up the Mohawk river in an open boat to the head of the river and camping out at night, crossing over to Fish Creek by land, then going to Oneida Lake and through there into Seneca River, camping one night at Jack's Rifts, then into Cayuga Lake and landing near where Northville now is, going there to her sister's home, Mrs. Tillotson's, where she stayed until she went to her uncle's, Squire Bradley's."†

An account of the journey of some people from Greenwich, Connecticut, to King's Ferry, near Northville, tells of a wholly different route: "In the spring of 1793 Jonathan Mead and his brother-in-law, John Moe, came from Greenwich. Mead had been a soldier in the Revolution and settled on lot No. 5, which he had received for military service. He and Moe with their families came by schooner as far as Catskill, bringing with them wagons and oxen; thence on a track of blazed trees and lopped underbrush they came to Owego, from which point theirs were the first wagons coming in this direction. It was a four weeks' journey. Benjamin Close came with Mead and Moe; put up a house, and returned for his family in the fall. On coming back, Mrs. Close brought her youngest child, an infant in arms, all the way from Connecticut on horseback. Mrs. Weeks, a daughter of Mead, and her husband were of the party; and in her old age she told

* *Atwater Genealogy*, pp. 139-140, 188-189; *Goodyear Genealogy*, pp. 154, 215.

† C. C. C. Bradley's MSS.

of the tiresome journey of four weeks by way of Catskill, Oxford, and Owego."*

The colony at Homer in Cortland County was about twenty miles directly east of Genoa and was no doubt in close relations with Genoa. Groton, the place where Daniel Bradley lived, was about equally distant from the two villages. Sempronius, to which Eli Atwater removed from Homer, lies further north, but is also about as near to Genoa as it is to Homer. Another settlement in this region that had an intimate connection with Mount Carmel was Lake Ridge in Tompkins County, a few miles south of Genoa.

About 1804, Abner Todd with his wife and the younger children of his large family removed to Lake Ridge. He was a son of Ithamar Todd, another of the leading men who started the Mount Carmel Parish. His farm was on the southern slope of the Blue Hills, east of the river, and in a neighborhood quite distinct from the others that have been named. Abner Todd's wife was Mary Tuttle, the twin of Nathaniel Tuttle, 3d, and sister of Uri, Charles, Jonathan, and Jesse; also of Mrs. Joel Bradley. Several of Abner Todd's older children remained in Mount Carmel: one was the wife of Deacon Aaron Bradley, another of Elias Hotchkiss, a third of Isaac Chatterton, who went to Rutland, Vermont. A son, Medad, also remained, while another son, Josiah, went with his father and mother to their new home. They were near kinsfolk of the Amos Todd and Mrs. Beebe who were the first pioneers on the ground at Homer in 1791. This may have influenced their removal to Lake Ridge; not to speak of the presence of many other old neighbors who had gone before that time into this new country.†

So large a number of families who were from the same parish and had been well acquainted in their old Connecticut homes must have made the new country, wild as it was, not so very uncongenial or different from the New England they had always known. And besides these former neighbors, the other settlers whom they found were most of them from

* *Centennial*, Presbyterian Church of Genoa.

† *The Tuttle Family*, pp. 272-273.

somewhere in Connecticut or the other New England States; having the same habits and ways of thinking; industrious, intelligent, religious, maintaining their church and school; even their town meeting, and the whole order of their social life, transplanted with slight change from an old soil to another where it could grow on with renewed vigor.

Some of the Mount Carmel pioneers, however, made their way to other parts of the great state of New York. About 1790, Jared Goodyear, having recently married Beda Ives, joined a company which was going to found a settlement in Schoharie County. This was earlier than the migrations to the region of Genoa and was near the time of the first start at Homer. For this reason, Schoharie County, which is only a little way beyond Albany, was looked upon as much farther away than it seemed a few years later. It was called "Western New York" and was talked about as "The Far West." The account of the journey dwells upon the fact that the whole distance was made by ox teams. The settlement was prosperous, as were almost all those planted by New England people in the period following the Revolution. The Goodyears were especially influential. They had a large family and their sons and daughters filled a large place in the community. As they were not very distant from the old homes in Connecticut, intimate relations were kept up with their many family friends, among the Ives as well as the Goodyears, by frequent visits back and forth. So, in the course of time, it came about that one of the sons, Willis Goodyear, married the daughter of his cousin Horace and went back to make his home in the old Goodyear mansion; to raise a new family there; and to become an honored deacon in the Mount Carmel Congregational Church.*

The village of Unadilla will be remembered as being close to Oghwaga, where the Connecticut missionaries for many years maintained their Indian school; and as a famous landing on the Susquehanna River for the pioneers on the way to their settlements in the Wyoming valley. With the

* *Goodyear Genealogy*, pp. 98, 99.

changed order of things after the Revolution, this point became a field for new settlers. One who came here about 1800 was John Dickerman, a son of that earlier pioneer who had gone from New Haven to Vermont some thirty or more years before and had made his home in Lyndon. This son was a soldier in the Revolutionary War, and after the War, like so many other soldiers, looked to the state of New York as especially attractive for a new home. He had married, in 1789, Thankful Smith of Granby, Massachusetts, and already had five children, to whom six more were added after his coming to Unadilla. He worked at the trade of a blacksmith, but also had a small pension to aid in the support of his family. His four sons and seven daughters all grew up, married, and had families; so that the number of his grandchildren was seventy-two. Several members of this family have risen to distinction. One son, Dr. Clark Dickerman, was a physician at Harford, Pennsylvania, and was highly honored for his professional ability and his estimable character; and his son, Charles Heber Dickerman, was a representative of Pennsylvania in the United States Congress. Another grandson, Albert Dickerman, after three years of service as an army officer in the Civil War, studied law in Cleveland, Ohio, practiced his profession in Hillsdale, Michigan, and held the responsible positions of circuit court commissioner, probate judge, and state senator; later, at Muskegon, he served for six years as circuit judge; after which he removed to Watsonville, California, where the last years of his life were passed. In 1869, he published a carefully prepared history of that branch of the Dickerman family to which he belonged, which is embodied in the larger *Dickerman Genealogy*.*

In the West Woods part of Mount Carmel there lived a family of the name of Sperry, which removed, not far from 1805, to Russia in Herkimer County, New York. The father was John Sperry, son of Asa and Hester (Hull) Sperry, and the mother was Amy, the eldest daughter of Enos and Lois (Alling) Dickerman. There were eight children in the

* Pp. 240-272.

family before the removal, and four more were born afterward. Russia is hardly more than ten miles from New Hartford; but there is no way of knowing what influences brought about this removal; or the stern experiences of this family in breaking the ground and getting a roof over their heads. There are, however, very full records of the family which show that, from this spot in the wilderness, children and grandchildren went forth to establish a multitude of other homes in different New York communities, in Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, and other states, so that the descendants of this one couple number several hundred.*

A little earlier, Jared Pitkin Sperry, with his wife Esther Lucy Sanford, had gone out from the same neighborhood to the settlement at Russia. Esther Sanford was the daughter of Stephen and Sybil (White) Sanford, who lived to the west of Centerville, about two miles south of the Enos Dickerman homestead. Jared Sperry and Esther were married February 2, 1794, and, immediately after, started on their journey to make a new home in the wilderness. There were eight children in their family, and many later descendants. We cannot but associate them with John Sperry and his wife in their pioneer enterprise.†

Mention has been made of the Reverend Benjamin Doolittle who went to Northfield, Massachusetts, and of another Benjamin Doolittle who was among the early settlers in Pennsylvania. There was a third of the same name, the son of Titus Doolittle, a near neighbor to Ithamar Todd, who went to Catskill, New York, before 1812, and, after living there awhile, removed with his family to Enfield in Tompkins County. He had eight sons and three daughters to bear their part in that new community. Titus Doolittle had another son, Titus, Jr., who remained at Mount Carmel. He also had seven daughters, all of whom went away to make their homes. At least two of these seem to have gone with their brother Benjamin to Enfield, for one of them, Sally,

* *Dickerman Genealogy*, pp. 407-422.

† *Sanford Genealogy*, chap. XX, p. 6.

became the wife of Jonathan Rumsey, who lived at Trumansburg, near Enfield, and, after her early death, married her sister Polly.

The Doolittle families in and about Mount Carmel were numerous and went abroad in many directions, often leaving no clews by which their after history could be traced. There was a Philemon Doolittle, who went from Wallingford to Blandford, Massachusetts, in 1777, and removed thence to western New York, where he was a minister and left a large family of children in the neighborhood of New Haven, near Oswego. There is also some evidence that two brothers of the elder Titus Doolittle, whose names were Benjamin and Samuel, went from Mount Carmel to Edgefield, South Carolina; whence a host of descendants have been distributed to other parts of that state, and to Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas.*

Colonel Samuel Bellamy was a prominent figure in Mount Carmel life, as has been already shown. He kept the village tavern, which stood on ground just north of the church. After accumulating considerable property, he decided to give up his rather laborious business; and, as he had no family but his wife, it was comparatively easy for him to move. His wife was a sister of Jabez and Dan Bradley and we may be sure that he was well informed of the things going on in Onondaga County; how enterprising people were flocking there from all over New England and opportunities never known before were being offered for every sort of undertaking and investment. Colonel Bellamy, with his social habits and fondness for mingling with men of affairs, was not likely to be impervious to these strong attractions. The thought of being near so many old friends and neighbors in the new country, where they were bringing about good results and enjoying no little prosperity, must have had a good deal of weight. On June 7, 1804, he sold to Noah Barber for $5,000 forty-six acres of land with the buildings in Mount Carmel; and a year later, June 15, 1805, he sold fifty acres more for $2,000 to Samuel Chapman. After that,

* *Doolittle Genealogy*, pp. 222, 346.

about 1806, he was in Marcellus, where now is the village of Skaneateles, near Dan Bradley. A Congregational church was started at this place in 1801, which is believed to have been the first church of any order in the old town of Marcellus. It afterward became a Presbyterian church.*

Colonel Bellamy was probably in active business here, at least to the extent of finding a remunerative use for his money, for he became a rich man, according to the estimates of those times. His position was unlike that of the other pioneers all about him, for he had no children of his own to whom to leave his property; and so he made up his mind to put it into a school that should be of permanent value to this region. In the year 1816, the Reverend Dirk C. Lansing, a graduate of Yale in the class of 1804, became pastor of the Presbyterian church of Auburn and, being a man of zeal and eloquence, soon won the hearts of the people for many miles around by conducting revival services and leading large numbers into the churches. Then, a movement being started to found a theological school, he was chosen financial agent to collect funds for the enterprise. Some $16,000 was raised, mostly in small sums in Auburn. When application was made to the generous people in other communities, Colonel Bellamy responded with a large contribution, which was followed by other gifts till his entire estate, with the exception of an annuity of some $600, which he left to his widow, and some other specific bequests, passed into the funds of the Auburn Theological Seminary. A memorial sermon by the Reverend Henry Fowler, entitled the "History of the Church of Christ in Auburn," preached on November 28, 1867, has this passage:

> The corner stone was laid May 11, 1820, by Colonel Bellamy of Skaneateles, a liberal benefactor, whose name, and that of Colonel Linklaen of Cazenovia, inscribed on a silver medal, were deposited in the stone. On the same medal was also inscribed: "Behold I lay in Zion for a foundation a chief corner-stone, elect, precious" "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday and forever."†

* Barber and Howe, *Historical Collections*, p. 403.

† *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

The pastor of the Mount Carmel church received a letter, under date of October 15, 1914, from the librarian of the Auburn Theological Seminary, inquiring about this benefactor, as follows:

> I am in search of information regarding one of the founders of our Seminary who died in 1829. It is Col. Samuel Bellamy who removed from New Haven to Skaneateles about 1806. I have learned that he came to New Haven from Mt. Carmel where he was a member of the Congregational Church and a Free Mason, and "his house still standing" when Blake's *History of Hamden* was written. Can you give me any information about him or place this letter in the hands of some one who can? I would especially like to know whence came his title of "Col." which was uniformly given him here; also any other personal items which would help to make him more than a name to us. His was one of the two names inscribed on the corner stone of our first building, laid in 1820.

The catalogue of the seminary for 1913-14 states that the original seminary building was taken down in 1892; that the original endowment consisted of ten acres of land for the campus and $35,000; that the present endowment is $550,000 with a campus of about fifteen acres; that the faculty numbered in that year fourteen members, and the students sixty-five. The letter of a niece of Mrs. Bellamy, of July 6, 1896, says that Col. Bellamy's will gave to the seminary $60,000 and made it the residuary legatee.* What used to be called the "Bellamy and Edwards Professorship" was named for him. He was a trustee of the seminary from 1821 to the end of his life. He became a member of the First Presbyterian Church in Auburn January 27, 1823; died March 20, 1829, and was buried in Auburn.

Canandaigua is a point of particular interest in the history of western New York. Its beginnings remind one of the first settlement of the Whites at Whitestown. The lands of this region lying west of a line near Geneva, some 6,000,000 acres, were ceded to Massachusetts by New York at the Hartford Convention of 1786, and in the following year a tract in the eastern half amounting to 2,200,000 acres was

* C. C. C. Bradley's MSS.

sold for $1,000,000 to Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham, who went out in 1788 with a company of men to explore and survey the territory. They had to make terms with the Indians and met them in council where Canandaigua now stands, and after a famous conference obtained their confirmation of the title. Proceeding with their surveys, they opened a land office there and put the lots on the market.*

Moses Atwater of Cheshire came to Canandaigua in 1791 and set up as a physician. It is said that he was there in 1789; this may have been on some transient errand. He was a Yale graduate of 1787, two years earlier than Dan and Joel Bradley, who were his neighbors, and whom he must have known before going to college, as well as after. He studied medicine after graduation and removed to Canandaigua the same year that Dan Bradley made his first visit to Whitestown; so that we can imagine that the two were together during the early part of their westward journey. Things must have been quite rough in the new settlement; for in the following year it was reported as having only two frame houses and a few log cabins. The young doctor was very heartily welcomed under such circumstances and soon came into a position of high esteem; he was made associate justice of the county court in 1795 and enjoyed increasing honors to the close of a long life. He was joined at Canandaigua by his younger brother, Jeremiah, who also lived to a great age, knowing the place in its day of prosperity as well as when it was only a land office with a few cabins about it.†

The work of putting these Massachusetts lands on public sale was hardly begun, when the Connecticut lands of northern Ohio began to draw the interest of the pioneering New Englanders. The Connecticut Land Company, consisting of forty-eight subscribers, took over these lands to the amount of 1,200,000 acres, in the year 1795. Oliver Phelps of Canandaigua subscribed $168,180, which was more than anyone else; and Pierpont Edwards of New Haven, $60,000.

* Barber and Howe, *Historical Collections*, pp. 405-408.

† *Yale Biographies*, Fourth Series, pp. 524-525; *Atwater Genealogy*, p. 186.

Caleb Atwater of Wallingford was another of the larger subscribers and, having paid down his money for the stock, he went out, located, and surveyed his lands, one township of which received the name of Atwater; but he came back to live in Wallingford.*

There was an Atwater in Mount Carmel who went to Ohio to stay, a young man of the name of Amzi. He was a son of Enos and a grandson of Jacob and Miriam (Ives) Atwater, whose home was one of that little group of homesteads known as "New State." Enos Atwater lived on a farm about a mile west of his father's, the ground of which was rugged, even for Connecticut. At about the age of nineteen, Amzi paid a visit to his uncle, the Reverend Noah Atwater of Westfield, Massachusetts, who was in the habit of teaching mathematics to a few young men. He was invited to remain and study, and thus learned the art of surveying. He also came into companionship with Warham Shepherd, who was afterward associated with him in explorations. In the spring of 1796, with a knapsack on his back, he started on foot and alone to join Shepherd at Canandaigua and help the Connecticut Land Company with their survey. He was at this work for more than a year, during which Shepherd fell ill and died. In 1798-99, he was in the employ of the Holland Land Company, in the western part of New York, and assisted in running nearly all the township lines. In the fall of 1799, he returned to New England and spent the winter with his uncle in further study. Then, in 1800, he took his brother Jotham, who had been with him before in some of his surveys, and together they went to Ohio to make their permanent home. They bought land at Mantua, a place between Cleveland and Youngstown, and settled down to farming. Their father died not long after; their mother came out to live with them, and Mantua became the home of the family, their four sisters coming eventually to Ohio and dying in that state. The *Portage County History* speaks of Amzi Atwater as "the man who, more than any other, left his impress on the township and county. . . . On the or-

* *Ohio and Western Reserve*, p. 141.

ganization of the county he was made one of the Judges, and the Legislature appointed him a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas; which position he long held and filled with marked ability, impartiality and dignity."*

Jacob Atwater had a daughter Mary, who married Davenport Williams and went out to New Hartford, apparently about the time that Dan Bradley was there. In that case, Amzi and Jotham would probably have made them visits in going to and from their surveying tours. Amzi certainly visited there in 1830, for he writes of it:

> I arrived at New Hartford very early Thursday morning and went to see Uncle and Aunt Williams. I found them and family all well and had a good visit till afternoon. Aunt took a wagon and rode with me to Utica.

He visited there again on his return journey and tells the sad news of the death of a daughter at Lima, where she had left three motherless children, the youngest a babe.†

Among the foremost citizens of the Mount Carmel Parish in its beginnings were Judge Simeon Bristol and Captain Stephen Goodyear. Judge Bristol's son, George Augustus, married Mary DeForest Hawley, a daughter of the Reverend Stephen and Mary (Bellamy) Hawley of Bethany, and lived in Southington. They had a son, Simeon Bristol, who married Captain Goodyear's daughter Lucy and removed to western New York, early in the last century, and made their home, it would seem, not far from Rochester, probably at Perrington or Pittsford in Monroe County.‡ Their daughter became the wife of Asahel Finch, Jr., and lived in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, after 1839.

To these annals of movement out from the narrow valley lying north of New Haven to the larger opportunities beyond the Hudson, it is only fair to add the tribute of an historian who writes of this newer region of the State of New York as "the land of his birth and the study of a lifetime."

* *Atwater Genealogy*, pp. 226-243.
† *Ibid.*, p. 179.
‡ *Goodyear Genealogy*, pp. 80-82.

Francis Whiting Halsey in *The Old New York Frontier*, page 338, says:

Many of the pioneers from New England had served in the Revolution. Some had gone up the Mohawk with Benedict Arnold to Fort Schuyler in 1777; others were at Cherry Valley with Colonel Alden; others went down the Susquehanna with General Clinton, and thence to the fertile lands of the Genesee. Most notable of all the impressions they had carried home were impressions of the fertility of this New York soil and the sparsity of the population. This was strikingly true of the Genesee country, where the ears of corn they had plucked from extensive fields cultivated by Indians awakened astonishment. Accordingly the history of the re-peopling of this frontier is mainly a history of the migration poured into it from Massachusetts and Connecticut, by a people whom Professor Lounsbury has eulogized as "born levellers of the forest, the greatest wielders of the axe the world has ever known." They brought not only skill with the axe, but certain arts and refinements in domestic life before unknown to the frontier, and with those arts a spirit of enterprise and invention, with an initiatory energy which carried their own fortunes far; and which, more perhaps than all other human forces, have made the central and western parts of New York State what they now are.

XVIII.

Personal Recollections.

ALLUSIONS in previous chapters to landmarks about Mount Carmel are founded on the author's remembrance of them as they were in the middle of the nineteenth century. It may reasonably be assumed that they were then very much as they were in the latter part of the eighteenth century, for after the principal roads had been laid out, homesteads built, and farms put under cultivation, the outward features of the country tended to become more or less permanent. But in the subsequent period changes have been much greater and more rapid. The community itself has been essentially changed, from a society composed almost wholly of farmers to an aggregation of people having various occupations and diverse interests. As a matter of course, the outward aspects of life have also become very different. On this account, it may add to the value of this history to write out some of these personal recollections in more detail.

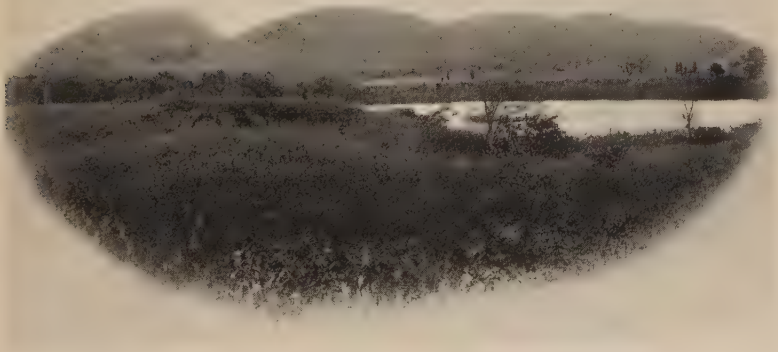
The main street, now known as Whitney Avenue, would hardly be recognized as the Farmington Turnpike of 1850. There was then a toll-gate about a hundred rods north of the meeting-house; and from that point down to Centerville, a stretch of two or three miles, the number of dwellings could not have been more than fifteen or twenty, while now the count will run into hundreds. The farmhouses, too, had a distinctive style. Many of them were like the Sherman house, which stands just south of the meeting-house, of two stories, with the front door in the middle facing the street, and with a large room on either side above and below, and with smaller rooms in the rear. Another style that was quite common was similar to this, except that it was of one story; or, as it was often called, a story and a half, because there were upstairs windows on the gable ends of the house. A few smaller houses were independent of any style.

The old farmhouse was ordinarily one of a group of buildings, each with a purpose of its own. A few rods away from the house was the barn, having on each side a pair of broad doors reaching from the ground to the eaves, with a floor of heavy planking between the two pairs of doors. On one side of the floor was a bay for a haymow and opposite a row of stalls for cattle, above which was more open space for the storage of hay or harvests of grain in the sheaf. Attached to the barn on the outside were additions of one sort and another, sheds, covered pens, an open yard usually surrounded by a high fence, within which might often be seen a stack of coarse hay or cornstalks. Where the farm was large, two or three of these barns were found with a motley lot of other buildings—a horse barn and carriage house, a granary and corncrib, a pigpen and chicken house, a smoke house for curing hams and smoked beef, a shop with carpenter's bench and tools of many kinds for use in all sorts of farm industries. Connected with the house at the rear was a spacious woodhouse and a wood yard, in which were piled the supplies of fuel, some in the form of green cordwood right out of the forest, others in different stages of preparation for the final process of storing it under cover. On some of the farms, there was a cider mill to which came the apples from many orchards in the neighborhood around, not merely to provide the popular beverage, but also to become a constituent of the huge quantities of apple sauce that was one of the food staples of nearly every house; and a good deal more besides to be ripened into vinegar and sent off to market.

It was one of the proclivities of a thrifty farmer to have some building project on hand. He kept a stock of lumber seasoning and ready for demands as they might arise. He liked to have things under a good dry roof, not only his family, but his cattle; his tools also, carts, wagons, sleds, ploughs, harrows, shovels, and hoes. It would have distressed him to see the treatment that many farmers in the west and south give to their costly machinery today, leaving

The Author's Old Home

See note on page 198



The Blue Hills, from a Field back of the Author's Old Home

their mowers and harvesters out in all weathers the whole year round.

So long as farming was the chief occupation and the lands throughout the town were under cultivation, the people were widely scattered and most of their homes were somewhat apart from other homes. Each home with its several buildings was the salient feature of the farm on which it stood. All the belongings of the farm centered in it as the headquarters from which the directions for whatever was undertaken were given, and to which the products of every sort were brought. To live on a farm then meant living there quite distinctly. The owner and his family did the work; and to the work indoors and outdoors there was very little let-up from one season to another. To pay for this, the farm gave the family their support and whatever else they could make out of it. But the support was the main thing. A farmer bought very little; he raised what was required. He made little use of money and ordinarily had very little that he could use. Even in marketing his products, he took most of their value in other things that were wanted on his farm or by his family.

Unlike most other people, the farmer was largely independent of markets. His house was stocked from garret to cellar with the things which were necessary for food and clothing, while the wood yard held an abundant supply of fuel. His herds and poultry furnished the meat for his table; much of the pork and beef having been salted down in barrels, or cured by smoking, so that it was ready at hand when wanted. The dairy gave cheese, butter, cream, and milk at all times. The garden provided fresh vegetables, berries, and grapes in their season; and in the autumn a surplus of cabbages, beets, carrots, and onions was stored in the cellar for winter use; while cartloads of potatoes, turnips, and apples kept them company in the several bins designed for them. The harvests of wheat and rye made the supply of flour. Buckwheat was in demand for buckwheat cakes, and cornmeal was a staple for hasty pudding and johnnycake. Oatmeal had not then become an article of diet in these

parts; nor was anything known of canning farm products. Apples, pears, and berries were dried to keep them from spoiling. Rich preserves and jellies were made of quinces, currants, and other fruits, to be put away as special delicacies. Mincemeat was compounded with the diligence and pains of an apothecary, and held in reserve for the inevitable mince pies. Sausages were prepared with almost equal care and their linked chains hung over a pole suspended near the ceiling overhead in the pantry or some other convenient place. Lard was tried in quantities and poured into stone jars, where it could be found ready at any time for "shortening" and other requirements of cooking. Tallow was moulded into candles or made into "dips" to furnish all the light to be had on winter nights, except for what shone from the fire on the hearth. All waste grease was saved to be combined with lye, obtained by leaching the ashes from the hearth, and turned into the family supply of soap.

The machinery of that day was very simple, but somehow it was made the means of doing a large part of the work of more complicated inventions. The farmer mowed his meadows with a scythe swung to and fro hour after hour by his own strong arms. Wheat, rye, oats, and buckwheat were harvested in a similar way with a cradle, or sometimes with a sickle. Then the grain was threshed out on the barn floor with a flail that pounded the sheaves till nothing was left in them but straw. After that, when the straw, with the thickest of the chaff, had been raked off, all that remained was winnowed in the wind till the grain was clean of refuse. A big wicker fan was sometimes swung back and forth to help in this process. The way of shelling corn off the cob was to take a spade and put it face down with the blade on the side of a half-bushel measure; then to sit on it, looking toward the measure, with one foot on each side; and, taking the ear between one's two hands, to draw the row of kernels along the edge till they were all dropped in the measure below. Old-fashioned corn had eight rows on a cob, so that this manner of getting off the kernels was easier than it would have been with such ears as we have now. Simple fanning mills and

corn shellers were coming into use about 1850; but they were new then, with only one or two in a neighborhood, and were circulated about from one farm to another, as occasion required.

The skill of the women in the house was quite as masterly. Baskets of wool came to them from the barn after the men had sheared it from the sheep. After washing it clean, they turned it into neat rolls with a pair of cards; next they spun it out into yarn on the whirring spinning wheel that was a part of the kitchen furniture; and finally they knit it into warm stockings. Or, it might be, they spun the wool into a finer thread to be woven into blankets or cloth out of which garments were cut and made. In like manner, quantities of flax came to them in the rough to be prepared for use. For this, they took the hatchel, a piece of board set thick with pointed spikes some four or five inches long, and whipped the flax across it again and again, till the fibers became clean of the coarse stuff in which they had been grown, and straightened into soft tufts, which passed thence to the little spinning wheel, where they were drawn into thread, finer or coarser as might be desired, and then went on to the final process of being woven to provide linen for all the uses of the household. All bits of cloth, new or old, were scrupulously saved; and what might otherwise have been waste was cut into strips, the ends of which were sewn together, and was then wound into balls to be woven into rag carpets, about the only carpet known in the farmhouse. To be handy with the needle was one of the first accomplishments, and little girls were early set to work at making samplers, to be kept and hung on the wall, often as much a source of pride to them as the diploma of a college is to girls today. Knitting, too, was a universal accomplishment for women, and it was practiced on all occasions. This was a sure safeguard against idleness when other work was done.

Such a life may seem to have been very isolated. It was less so than many might think. The people from the houses in any particular neighborhood were brought together in various ways. In the absence of books, newspapers, and fre-

quent mails, there was a desire to see one's neighbors as often as one could. People had no means of knowing much about what was going on in the world abroad, but they could learn what was going on in the homes right about them, and they were as eager for this as though the horizon had been wider. Their neighborly chat might be called "gossip," but it was just as human and vitally essential to a normal social life as the circulation of information in any other manner. So they were in and out of one another's homes at all hours of the day, often on errands of some importance, but at other times for simple relaxation and pleasure after a task was done.

The people were acquainted with everybody for miles all around. Every well-to-do farm had a horse; some of them had two or three; the bridle and saddle were ready in the stable to be thrown on at any hour; and close by in the shed was some wheeled vehicle, or a sleigh for winter time, to be brought out whenever needed. The young people, especially, considered it very bad for a horse to be idle for long at a time, and had him out on the road whenever it was convenient. They drove to market. They went to see friends who lived at a distance. Occasionally, they took a longer journey for business or pleasure to another part of the state, or perhaps to Massachusetts or Vermont. On Sunday, their work ceased, and then was the great chance for seeing one another. This of itself was reason enough for the presence of the great throngs at the meeting-house. They met for worship, but the expectation of seeing their neighbors in large numbers added no little zest to the occasion. They were by no means unsociable, nor was the circle of their friendships a narrow one. If they did not see so many people as we do, they yet took a personal interest in everyone they did see. Somehow, account for it as we may, the young men and maidens of that old time found it easier to form those congenial intimacies that ripen into a life-long companionship than do those who enjoy the social advantages most highly esteemed in our modern cities. Perhaps, after all, the happiest social conditions have their abiding place where life is unartificial and rests within the sphere of nature's harmonies.

My childhood was passed among people who, for the most part, had been born in Mount Carmel and always lived there, as their fathers also had done before them. Some of them were aged and in their retrospect took in the stirring events of the Revolution and the early years of the American Republic. My grandmother, who shared the old homestead with my father and his family, was born in 1764, the very year in which the Mount Carmel church was organized, and she lived to the spring of 1853, when I was in my tenth year. Her room, in which my aunt Chloe lived with her, was in itself a memorial of other days. The fireplace, with andirons, shovel, and tongs, and burning sticks of hickory or maple, was the cheerful center about which all loved to sit and listen to the gentle voice that told of a girlhood under King George of England. On a nail by the fireplace hung the well-thumbed almanac, and under it a small pair of yellow bellows, adorned with a green vine that incircled a medallion on which was the portrait of Lafayette, the friend of Washington, about whom no child ever tired of hearing. Her animation rose to the highest pitch when telling about the British soldiers under General Tryon, who fought their way into New Haven over the west bridge, then broke into the stores, rolled the barrels out into the streets, gathered what valuables could be found, and got away before the men from the farms arrived in sufficient numbers to stop them. In one corner of the room was grandma's big feather bed and in another corner the tall cherry clock, on whose face was the picture of a robin and whose measured ticks had a dignity quite in contrast with those of the hustling little new clock in the kitchen. Between the two front windows stood a small dressing-table and over this hung an ancient looking-glass with a wonderful gilded spread eagle at the top. At one of the windows, our aunt often sat with her knitting, while her keen eyes watched the passing teams coming down from above the Steps on their way to market; and it was her quiet claim that she knew every horse on the road, as far as Cheshire and Southington, and could tell who was behind before the driver could be clearly made out.

Our garret was full of relics of times gone by; implements of industry, spinning wheels, swifts, hatchels, a winnowing fan; old papers in large quantities, which might be of great value now if they had been longer kept back from the paper mill. Especially interesting was a file of almanacs that had been carefully strung together by their hanging loops from year to year, as a new one took the place of the old. Smoked to a brown, dog-eared by constant handling, and covered with flyspecks, they held volumes of history; in them were marked the dates of children's births and other events of importance. What a pity that these too should have vanished at the clearing out of the "old rubbish"!

The impression that came to me from all this and from what I saw of those people of a former period was that our life at that time was very much the same as that which they had known from their childhood in these very scenes. Changes were coming, and coming fast. One of these was from open fires on the hearth to air-tight stoves. I remember the bricking-up of a fireplace in order to gain the convenience and greater warmth of the stove. No one saw then the deadly peril of foul air which this involved for the family, and which may have been a cause of the shortening of not a few promising lives in this very community. The old ways predominated, however, and the usages of colonial New England were the habit of the hour.

Among the things that I remember with an admiration that increases with the passing years are the evidences I saw of the love of beautiful objects. Among these were the great trees standing about our house. A big button-ball stood near the front door, stretching its giant limbs above the roof like a protecting sentinel. Two other similar trees were by the Sherman house. A lordly elm overshadowed the barn-yard on the west side of the street. An enormous pear tree, such as I never have seen anywhere else, stood by the brook under the hill back of the house; a hickory almost as large stood by the brook further south; and out in the middle of the meadow was a "Daddy" apple tree of unusual size. Down the street opposite the old Hezekiah Dickerman place were

two great maples; and on the hillside off to the west, back of the old house, was a solitary oak of rugged trunk and wide-spreading branches in whose shade the cattle loved to gather at noontime. Smaller trees with trim bodies and shapely tops, mostly maples and elms, bordered the wayside to the north and the south. What was the reason for these trees? Why should these matter-of-fact, hard-working farmers have had them in their fields and all about their buildings? There was no economy in them. Any one of them would have made a lot of firewood. Those trees in the meadow by the brook shaded the grass where it ought to have grown most luxuriantly and reduced it to half a crop of hay. No doubt the trees were there for the same reason for which the farmers of the Connecticut valley above Northampton left their wonderful Hadley elms all about their bottom lands. It was simply because they loved to see them; they liked the looks of those big, sturdy things, the grandest of all the products brought forth by the ground on whose cultivation they subsisted.

The same was true of the patches of old primeval forests that were left as the wandering Indians had known them. A clump of such trees between our house and the river encircled and concealed a little pond that filled a geologic sink-hole; and beyond the hill along the river's side was a larger tract of several acres. Over the river, too, was "Spruce Bank," whose evergreen mass of hemlocks is to this day a picture of rare attractiveness. Impressiveness of mass and infinite variety of detail with vague associations of the wilderness combined to make this landscape gardening unlike other kinds in interest.

Illustrative of interest in trees is a story my father sometimes told his boys. In his own boyhood, he was out with his father on a spring morning, looking over the fences and clearing away any briers and weeds that might have got into them, when they came upon a little hickory, straight and vigorous, which it seemed a pity to cut; so he asked his father to let it live and give it to him, which was done. Always after that he looked on the tree as his particular property and

took care that it should be protected from injury. Years passed; the boy grew to manhood; the tree grew there by the old fence till it began to bear, and the nuts proved to be of rare excellence, with a thin shell, a full meat, and choice flavor. Then, every autumn, father gathered these nuts as his personal right, and, as they were the choicest on the whole farm, he found no small pleasure in disposing of them as he thought best, keeping them for the entertainment of friends on special occasions, and giving a few to the children now and then as a mark of approval. After father's death and the disposal of the farm to strangers, his sons continued to prize these nuts and obtained them from the owner when possible, till finally the old tree fell into decay and a few years ago followed its companions to the wood yard.

Shrubbery and flowers were a conspicuous feature of many old homes. In front of the Bellamy place, as I remember it, were great clumps of lilacs, and long after the house had become a swarming hive of Irish tenants these bushes would be loaded every spring with blossoms that the children coming from school might pluck off as they pleased. Syringas and wax balls were common. Honeysuckles and climbing roses were trained on trellises by the sides of doors and windows. The path leading down through the vegetable garden was bordered on either side with peonies, marigolds, larkspurs, lilies, daffodils, tulips, pansies, and other plants; while tall sunflowers and hollyhocks adorned some corner of the yard. The laying out of the garden was often done with no little pains and regard for ornamental effect, the beds outlined with mathematical precision, the cedar bean poles selected for symmetry and set at right angles in careful perpendiculars, and the whole assiduously tended to keep down the weeds.

Of course, there were great differences in taste and thoroughness. But on some farms a kind of artistic sense dominated the most ordinary occupations. My father was fastidious. In ploughing, the furrow had to be even, each like every other in width and depth. Corn was planted in lines so straight that when the stalks were grown one could see

through between them from one end to the other across a broad field. In mowing grass, the scythe must leave a path so clean that no blades should be found standing behind; and in carrying the hay off the field no wisps must be allowed to remain here and there to disfigure the finished work. A stack of hay may seem to be a crude piece of building, but often the pains taken to insure solidity and at the same time to offer graceful proportions and a pleasing picture to the passer-by were greater than one would think. Cutting timber in the woods was done in a like spirit—it was considered workmanlike to drive the axe near the ground so as to leave a short, even stump; also to make the gash on the one side correspond to that on the other; and finally to cut through the heart before the tree was ready to fall, leaving the stubs on either side for the last strokes of the axe, to avoid splintering the butt.

Equally conscientious and true to their art were the women in their dairy operations; in their spinning, knitting, and needlework; in their baking, cooking, and mending. It was their pride to be tidy and thorough, and to do some things so finely as to win admiration for their handiwork. Their skill and care are shown in the old linen that has been preserved by some of their children and grandchildren.

Another proof of aesthetic feeling was the prevalent fondness for animals of superior stock. The annual cattle show on the New Haven Green did a good deal to encourage this. It is said that Hamden and Woodbridge were rival towns, particularly in raising steers and oxen, and that each exerted itself to send to the show a larger and finer display of these than the other; on one occasion, the procession of yoked cattle was so long as to extend entirely round the square. This tells how much was thought of good oxen among the farmers. Oxen were their pet property. The boys found their greatest sport in breaking steers and acquired some of the best education they had in learning how to manage them. The work of the farm was carried on at every stage by oxen; and after their days of work were past, the oxen were fattened for the market and brought in more

ready money than came from almost any other source. A similar interest, though not usually quite so great, was taken in other animals; in good horses for driving; in pigs of a good breed; in sheep, when they could be kept without danger from sheep-killing dogs; in geese and turkeys, grateful reminders of Thanksgiving and Christmas; in chickens, which became the special charge of the boys and girls, who hunted for their eggs, watched over the hatching brood, and chose out from among them their own pets, for which their fondness never grew cold.

Wild birds that had a bad name as marauders, such as hawks, crows, and blackbirds, were hunted without mercy; but other birds, especially sweet singers, such as the robin, were prized for their notes and carefully protected. One evening, a guest at our house, the minister at the time, became greatly annoyed at the melancholy wails of a whip-poor-will and came to father for his gun "to shoot that creature," when he got the instant answer, "I would not have that bird killed for a hundred dollars."

Musical opportunities were few and simple, chiefly the singing school and choir rehearsals for Sunday worship. The instruments in use were the violin, bass viol, and flute, with drum and fife for military occasions. The love of music, however, was common; and now and then a person was seen who followed it to the neglect of other things. Members of the Ives family were of this class, a number becoming professional musicians and even attaining to distinction. My father was fond of music and tried to have his children learn to sing, even drilling them himself, sometimes, on the eight notes. He encouraged his daughters to practice on the piano; and when the eldest had a piano of her own, we often had singing in the family to her accompaniment.

Family worship in our house was about as regular as getting up in the morning. The usual way was for each one, from the oldest adult to the younger children, to have a Bible and to read one or two texts in turn, after which father led in prayer, all kneeling. At times, when there was a drive in farm work, as in haying and harvest time, the exercise was

somewhat hurried and only father read from the Bible, but to omit prayers altogether would have been thought next to heathenish. Indeed, it seemed to be the prevailing opinion among church-going people that every Christian household should have its daily worship. Equally insistent was the duty of a blessing at meals. That "a family altar might be erected in every house" was a sentiment frequently expressed in public service.

As our house was but a short distance from the meeting-house, it was the one where ministers were usually taken care of when there was no regular pastor. To have such guests was regarded as a privilege, their company being especially prized on account of its influence on the children. Occasionally, we had with us some man of eminence. I have a picture in my mind of Dr. Nathaniel W. Taylor sitting by the window in our parlor on one side of the table, while my father sat opposite discussing with him ecclesiastical questions, of the meaning of which I had not the faintest inkling. Another visit that I remember more distinctly was that of Dr. Dan Bradley, missionary to Siam, who was my father's cousin. He took particular notice of us children, showing us pictures of elephants and telling us how the people lived in Bangkok. We once had in our house the famous temperance lecturer, John B. Gough, who was then at the beginning of his remarkable career and was not unwilling to speak in a small country meeting-house. He was a bubbling fountain of mirth and, on returning to the house, after the lecture, kept the family up till midnight with a stream of stories funnier than had ever been heard there before. Some of those very stories I heard from the same lips, with the same inimitable mimicry, some forty years later in the college hall at Amherst, and I wondered that he had not tired of them.

It was said that our house was made of India rubber because of its expansiveness in the face of unexpected arrivals. One secret of this was the haymow in the barn, to which, at a pinch, the boys could betake themselves for sleeping quarters and make a lark of it. The barn, too, was a convenience for travelling strangers, whom it was desirable not to have in

closer proximity to the family. These sometimes found a lodging there unasked. My brother Ezra went out one morning to give the cattle hay and, stepping on the mow in the dim light, felt under his feet what seemed like a log or something else that did not belong there; so he stuck his fork down to try it and was met by the scream, "Don't hurt me"; at which the frightened boy beat a precipitate retreat.

With a lavish disposition in some things was combined a rigid economy in others. Once, I remember, some cobs on which a few kernels of corn remained had been brought in to put on the fire in grandmother's room; at which the old lady told us a story of some shipwrecked sailors, short of food, who lived some time on three grains of corn a day; and so, she said, we must never burn a grain of corn. Then the kernels were carefully picked off every one and afterward thrown out to the chickens. Because the people were so thrifty in little ways, they were prosperous and could be generous when occasion called for it.

I have heard my mother say that when father brought her to Mount Carmel as his bride, in 1826, the pair were asked to spend an evening at Deacon Aaron Bradley's. At this time Deacon Bradley took occasion to say that he wished my father to succeed him in office. He had been a deacon for nearly twenty years, having succeeded his father and grandfather, and at the age of seventy, with growing infirmities, was anxious to designate the man of his choice for a successor. Naturally, the church acceded to his wishes and father could not decline acceptance. Another incident of the honeymoon was a visit of my father's grandmother, "Granny Bradley," as she was called, who was eighty-five years of age. Mother described her as a little old lady who liked her pipe of tobacco, but was so considerate of others that she did not smoke in the house; it was her way to go outdoors and find a secluded spot where she could sit and enjoy her pipe in quiet. There was no smoking in our house. The only time we ever saw anyone using tobacco was when the hired men smoked their pipes about in the open fields. It was not considered good form in most of the houses I saw. In this par-

ticular, my father's example has been followed by his sons throughout their lives, with but a single exception.

My brother Edward, the eldest of nine children, had almost a parental interest in the younger members of the family. As long ago as I can remember, he used to speak of Ezra, Watson, and me, as the "little boys," to whom special care must always be given. He was proud of his sisters and his fondness for them was most brotherly, especially for Elizabeth, who was nearest his own age. When he was a boy, he went to a school in North Haven, taught by a Mr. Cowles, and father bought him a pony, on which he rode over in the morning and back at night. The pony liked to go fast and he was glad to have her. One cold November day, on his return home, he was speeding her up to the limit, when father happened to be standing in the blacksmith's shop and saw her go by. Edward caught a glimpse of his father and looked for a scolding later in the day, but father was so delighted to see how fast the pony could go, that he surprised the boy by saying simply that he had better not run her like that very often. When Edward was a few years older, he used to teach school in the winter months. One winter he taught in Whitneyville, and I remember his taking Ezra and me down with him one day to show us how he handled his boys and girls. He certainly made things lively and kept the pupils interested in what they were about. In months when he was not teaching, he sometimes canvassed for books, like Barber's *Historical Collections*, for example. This took him on long tramps to distant towns and made him a great walker. On one such trip, he finished his work in Rhode Island. Nevertheless, he took it into his head to walk home, where he arrived after a stretch of fifty miles at about midnight, and found the folks had all gone to bed; and so, instead of disturbing their slumbers, he turned into the barn and made his bed on a haymow.

From selling books he went into insurance and travelled in the south and west. He was in Ohio when it was a new country and was greatly taken with the chances for making a fortune. He even thought it would be a good thing for

father to sell the old farm and take his family out there. Much as he made of the new country, however, the old associations were still cherished. Once, in Cincinnati, he was ill with a raging fever and could not get any decent water to drink. He afterward told us how he longed for the little spring under Spruce Bank and how much he would have given for a glass of cool water from there.

In 1847, Elizabeth went away to boarding school, at the Seward Institute, in Florida, New York, and returned the following year with the first prize for scholarship, which was a book entitled *The Crystal Fount*, bound in red morocco and having on its flyleaf the autograph of William H. Seward. The next year, Abbie went out to the same school. People were beginning to give more thought to the education of their girls than had been done theretofore. A demand was coming for girls' schools and there was need of one in Mount Carmel. Elizabeth started such a school and eventually its patrons erected a suitable building for its accommodation. It was called "The Mount Carmel Female Seminary." When Abbie returned from Florida, she assisted in the teaching, and the school was carried on by the two sisters together. Quite a number of boys belonging to the neighborhood were allowed in the school. I was among these, with my brothers, Ezra and Watson. My sister Fannie also attended the school and sometimes assisted in teaching. After a while, Elizabeth went to Plymouth to assume charge of a similar school there, and the building in Mount Carmel was occupied as a public school.

My brother Street went to Williston Seminary, Easthampton, Massachusetts, about 1854, and his three younger brothers, one after another, followed him to the same school. He became greatly attached to Dr. Edward Hitchcock, who was one of his teachers, and who afterward became famous as the teacher of athletics in Amherst College. It was the custom on Amherst class days to greet "Old Doc" with the cheer: "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen!" The same personal charm which made him a favorite at Amherst was one of his traits at Easthampton,

and Street felt its power. It was the time of awakening interest in geology, and Dr. Hitchcock took his boys out to look over the fields, to discuss their formations, and to explore mines and quarries for a variety of minerals. One such trip was to Chesterfield, which proved particularly rich in specimens. When Street came home from Easthampton, he brought a lot of minerals and other curiosities, for which he set about to build a cabinet with glass doors, wherein they could be protected and displayed. He taught school one winter in Plantsville, and then went to Illinois to be near Edward, who had settled there. Street made his home in Springfield and wrote to me while I was in Williston Seminary, inclosing a little picture of "Abe Lincoln," whom he said the western people were likely to put forward as their candidate for President.

My brother Ezra was particularly fond of working in wood and making things with carpenter's tools. Jared Atwater, one of our neighbors, had a well-equipped shop and was something of a genius in carpentry. Ezra used to go down there often. Atwater liked to have him around and was always willing to show him the rules of a nice job. So the boy became skillful. Father encouraged him to equip a shop of his own, in which he tried to make a better sled for coasting than anyone else had, and other things in a like spirit. He interested himself in Sunday School work and used to go to one Sunday School at West Woods in the morning before church, and to another in the afternoon at Quinnipiac. When the Civil War came on, he enlisted in the Tenth Connecticut Regiment. After he had been in service nearly a year, Edward came on from Illinois and raised a company, many of whom were Ezra's old companions, and by their choice Ezra was commissioned captain in the Twentieth Regiment and continued his service till the end of the war.

Watson, the youngest of the family, was the stand-by at home for a little while after the rest of us had gone away, and was efficient in managing things and caring for the stock in father's last illness. Then he was with me during my last term at Williston Seminary, and continued there for three

years, after which he went out to Springfield, Illinois, to be with Street. After learning the banking business in Springfield, he went to New York. There he became a member of the Stock Exchange, and was twice elected its president. Retaining his early love of country life, he had a stock farm, which is called "Hillanddale," at Mamaroneck, New York, and achieved distinction in rearing some celebrated trotting horses.

These somewhat intimate allusions to a family life now departed seem necessary to the story I have undertaken to give of a single homestead in this old Connecticut parish.

Note: The picture of our old home was posed and taken in 1862 by A. J. Ebell, a student in Sheffield Scientific School, who had recently come from a trip to Minnesota, where his plans had been upset by a rising of the Indians, of which he gave an account in the *Harper's Magazine* of that time. He had me seated in the buggy with our old dog "Lion" at my side, while mother is standing near by; the figure farther back is Mrs. Asa Austin whose husband was away with my brother Ezra in the army at the South; the boy is Frank Austin, and the horse is "Bob," a favorite animal of the Morgan stock which father had brought down from Vermont a number of years before. The buggy was a piece of Ezra's handiwork, having been made in his shop just before he enlisted for the war. My brother Watson's love of horses and dogs began with "Bob" and "Lion." He prided himself once on having driven old "Bob" out to the farm from New Haven in half an hour. Doubtless he was as much gratified at the time, as he was long after when his young mare "Nedda" lowered the world's record for trotting three-year-olds.

XIX.

Canal, Railroad, and Factories.

THE first serious innovation in the traditional ways of the farmer folk living in the valley to the north of New Haven came with the building of the canal. This extraordinary enterprise was projected by a few New Haven men of wealth, reputation, and influence, to whom the commercial advantage of their city was of such vast concern that the interests of other communities were worthy of notice only as they contributed to that end. These men became obsessed with the idea that an artificial waterway from Lake Memphremagog on the border of Canada to their harbor on Long Island Sound might be made a thoroughfare of transportation and trade that would give New Haven the ascendency over its rivals and make it a port of commanding influence on land and sea alike. Accordingly, they obtained the counsel of expert engineers, made surveys, and set about carrying out the scheme by every means within their reach.*

In 1822, a charter was obtained from the Connecticut General Assembly. Supplementary charters were obtained from the legislatures of Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire. Under the Connecticut charter, the Farmington Canal Company was formed, and under the Massachusetts charter the Hampshire and Hampden Canal Company, both joint-stock companies and working together for the same object. As the canal never got beyond Northampton, the two other charters were inoperative.

The Farmington Company was authorized by its charter to purchase and forever hold as much land and real estate as might be necessary for making the canal and providing it with such basins, harbors, and side-cuts as the corporation

* "Map exhibiting the Farmington and Hampshire and Hampden Canals, together with the Line of their proposed continuation through the Valley of the Connecticut River to Canada." Engraved and published by N. & S. S. Jocelyn.

should think expedient; also to purchase and hold mills, manufactories, and mill sites. The owners of all properties thus demanded were required to give them up; and if any question arose over the sums to be paid for them, it was to be determined by a board of commissioners empowered to fix the amounts for claims and damages.

It was hardly to be expected that such a proposal would be received with unalloyed satisfaction, especially by landholders and mill owners along the designated route. Nor was it likely that people who valued their money would be in a hurry to put it into an enterprise so hazardous. Books were opened for subscriptions in July, 1823; but the response was so inadequate for the requirements that something more had to be done to attract support, and in the following May a bill was passed by the legislature exempting the stock from taxation forever. This brought in funds enough to warrant a beginning, and in July, 1825, the first ground was broken for the excavations at Suffield. Work went on with vigor for the next three years, so that, in the spring of 1828, the canal was opened to Cheshire; and, in the autumn, as far as Southington.*

Meanwhile, the people who were particularly interested

* This account is derived from Reports and other papers belonging to the New Haven Colony Historical Society; among which are the following:

The Act of Incorporation of the Farmington Canal Company, with Reports, etc., 1822.

The Act of Incorporation of the Farmington Canal Company; also the Act of Incorporation of the Mechanics' Bank of New Haven, with Sundry other Documents, etc., 1825.

George Beach, Esq., and the Northampton Town Meeting. 1825-26.

Remarks on the Farmington Canal &c. By an Original Stockholder.

Petition of the Farmington and Hampshire and Hampden Canal Companies, To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States. Presented by James Hillhouse, Agent, in behalf of the Companies. 1830.

Also papers relating to the incorporation of the Hampshire and Hampden Canal by the legislature of Massachusetts; and a Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention Holden at Windsor, Vermont, in 1825, for the purpose of taking preliminary measures to effect an improved navigation of the Connecticut River.

in the navigation of the Connecticut River, headed by merchants and shipowners in Hartford, started a movement to thwart the New Haven project by another of their own which aimed to open and improve the navigation to the headwaters of the Connecticut and to Lake Memphremagog. In 1824, they obtained a charter for a canal around Enfield Falls and proceeded to ask legislation in Massachusetts for countenance of their plans in that state. In November, 1829, the canal at Windsor Locks was completed and was at once put into operation.

The New Haven enterprise again became embarrassed for want of funds. In 1829, the city of New Haven took $100,000 worth of stock, which afforded some relief but not the amount required. So it was decided to make an appeal to the United States Congress for an appropriation. In February, 1830, Mr. James Hillhouse,* representing the Farmington Canal Company and also the Hampshire and Hampden Canal Company, offered a petition for the sum of $130,000 to complete the canal from Westfield to Northampton. He then stated that, on the Farmington Canal, individuals had advanced $645,000 and that $25,000 was

* The entrance of Mr. Hillhouse into this enterprise is full of meaning. He was the one man who might give the project a well-founded hope of fulfillment. His life had been devoted to public interests and he was distinguished for his successful achievements. As a young law student, he had been made captain of the Governor's Foot Guards, and had led his company in the defence of New Haven at the British invasion in 1779; and from that time onward he had been almost uninterruptedly engaged in public service,—in the Connecticut legislature, in the House of Representatives at Washington, in the United States Senate, as the treasurer of Yale College, and as commissioner of the Connecticut School Fund. He had resigned from a position of great distinction in the Senate, near the beginning of his third term, to be commissioner of a school fund that was on the verge of bankruptcy; and, by fifteen years of toil, he had rescued the endowment and established it upon a secure foundation. As treasurer of Yale College, which office he held till the end of his life, or for some fifty years, his administration was productive of similar results. At the same time, he was foremost in many other undertakings—in building a turnpike, in laying out new streets and setting apart ground for a cemetery, in grading and fencing the Green, and in setting out young elm trees along

needed to finish it; while for the Hampshire and Hampden Canal $167,541 had been paid in and $130,000 was necessary to complete it. This appeal was unavailing.

Some knowledge of divergent sentiment on the part of those in the neighborhood of the canal may be gained from a paper, purporting to be from "A Stockholder," which was published in a pamphlet under date of February, 1828. This paper sets out with the proposition that: "The Construction of Canals is the proper work of the sovereign power and should never be committed to private corporations"; and argues with much cogency that the charter of the Farmington Canal was radically wrong and subversive of the principles of the common law and the liberties of the people. The paper closes with these words:

When the petition for this charter was first presented the Erie Canal was completed and a fair portion of it was in a train of successful experiment. The proposed canal filled the public eye so effectually as to exclude all discernment of the evils which might result from it. As the legislators were not requested to alienate the property of the State, or to subject their individual estates to the absolute

roadsides to adorn the city in future years. How much it was worth to secure such a man for superintendent of this project, it is not easy to say.

Mr. Hillhouse died on December 29, 1832, and a funeral discourse was pronounced by his pastor, Dr. Leonard Bacon. A passage from this discourse tells of his labors on behalf of the canal, and also reveals the prevalent attitude of mind toward the project itself:

"He resigned his office as Commissioner of the School Fund in 1825, as his fellow citizens were urgently calling him, in his old age, to the conduct of a new, and in many respects, still more arduous enterprise. A great work of internal improvement, opening a new channel for commerce, was to be constructed by the contributions of individuals, voluntarily associating for the purpose, and to none but him could they look to be the leader of the work. At the age of three score years and ten he embarked in the construction of the Farmington and Hampshire Canal, with all the enthusiasm and hardy vigor of his prime, and for six years he sustained the charge, through every discouragement and difficulty. That work will be hereafter accomplished. The men are now living who will live to see it a great and busy thoroughfare. Then the last great labor of him who, for more than half a century, was the unwearied servant of his fellow citizens, will be acknowledged with gratitude."

power of commissions, and as there was no person or company present to object, the petitioners had it in their power to obtain a grant of power and privileges which could not be brought into exercise without a violation of the first principles of our government and the constitutional rights of many of our citizens.

Great benefits to all parties concerned were anticipated. Rivers were said to be made "to feed canals" and the rich valleys of our rivers were made to furnish the beds of canals. From these splendid prospects we have been called to witness the reality. . . . Most of the persons whose lands have been taken are severe sufferers without prospect of relief. The stockholders and contractors have also suffered. The only profits of the enterprise have gone to the draughtsman of this singular charter, to the professional advocates for its adoption, to the commissioners, to the engineers and their trained assistants, to lawyers, courts, appraisers, and last, not least, to the numerous Board of Directors.

In spite of all set-backs, however, the work was pushed through. In 1830, the boats were passing up and down as far as Westfield and by 1835 they had touched the river at Northampton. Nevertheless, it was another thing to make the enterprise pay. The essential problem was one of competition with old-fashioned transportation on the Connecticut River. The maintenance of the canal was found to be enormously expensive. It had sixty locks* to be kept in order and attended, and required incessant oversight of the artificial banks throughout its whole length, these banks being always endangered by a heavy downfall of rain. One freshet in 1843 involved a loss of $20,000. No profits appeared and more money had to be raised in one way or another from time to time to keep the concern going. In 1845, the question of building a railroad to take the place of the canal was raised. This was finally decided upon, a new charter was obtained in 1847, and in January, 1848, the railroad was opened as far as Plainville. Soon after this, navigation on the canal was discontinued. In a financial review of this ex-

* See a diagram: "Profile showing the number of Locks from Northampton to New Haven; and from Northampton to Hartford" (by the Connecticut River).

periment, the cost was estimated at $1,478,425. This was the loss to stockholders and capitalists.

And now, what of the profit and loss to the communities through which the canal was run? Trace the canal from the waterside in New Haven through the city, where now is the bed of the railroad; up across Hamden Plains to Shepherd's Brook, which it took out of its old channel; then over those fertile fields that, in the early days, looked so attractive to Governor Matthew Gilbert and were afterward known as "Gilbert's Farm"; then by the front door of the old Goodyear homestead, with the house of Marcus Goodyear opposite, having the canal between; thence upon a high embankment that had to be built over the little valley of Pardee's Brook; northward along the foot of the ridge, through the meadow land before the Jared Ives place; on by the roadside over which looked down the windows of the house where Captain John Bassett lived and three generations of his children have lived since his time; immediately beyond this, a lock with its double gates; then a close run by the back door of the Jared Atwater house, beyond which the canal ploughed through the ancient Jonathan Ives farm; thence along the valley to the back of the Hezekiah Dickerman homestead, where another lock had to be built; again through fertile meadows, back of the old Sherman house, only a few feet away; back of the meeting-house and equally near to it; through the front yard of the old Bellamy mansion; northward still to the Steps, which had to be blasted away; by the site of Hunt's Mill, taking in Eaton Brook; across the "Fresh Meadows" of colonial times, the farms of Baszel Munson, Amos Peck, and the several Bradleys; then over the Cheshire line and the same thing there; again in Southington, Farmington, Simsbury, Granby, Suffield, Westfield, in every town and village through which the canal passed.

It is needless to say that after this invasion none of these towns could ever be the same as they had been before. There was the disfigurement of a fair landscape all the way from New Haven Harbor across the state to the middle of Massa-

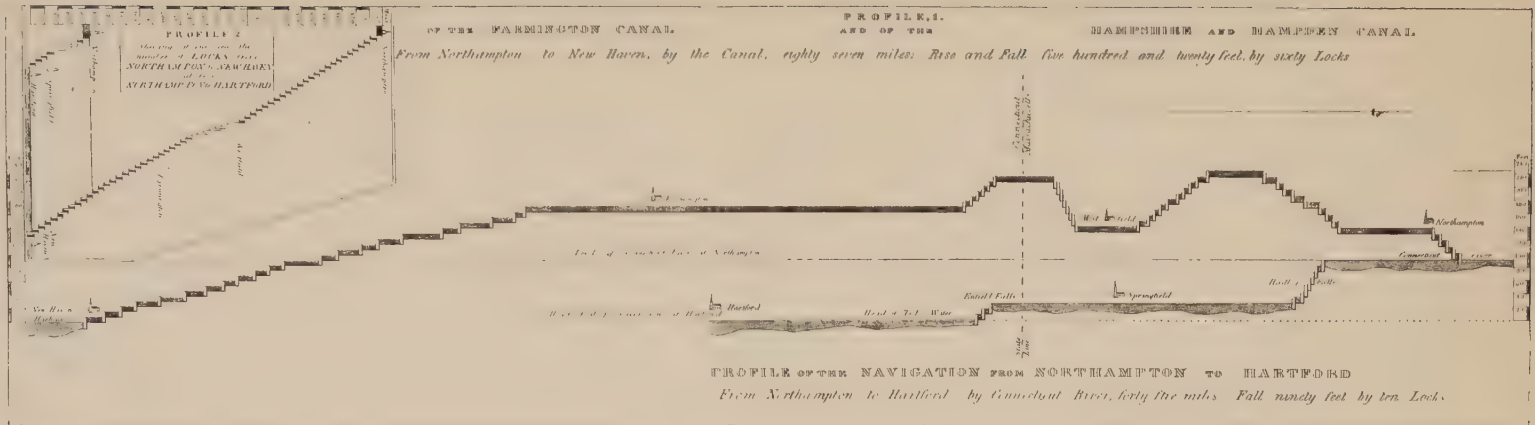

PROFILE 1.
OF THE FARMINGTON CANAL.
AND OF THE
HAMPSHIRE AND HAMPDEN CANAL.
From Northampton to New Haven, by the Canal, eighty seven miles: Rise and Fall five hundred and twenty feet, by sixty Locks
PROFILE 2
NORTHAMPTON & NEW HAVEN
NORTHAMPTON & HARTFORD
Northampton
Springfield
Hartford
PROFILE OF THE NAVIGATION FROM NORTHAMPTON TO HARTFORD
From Northampton to Hartford by Connecticut River, forty five miles Fall ninety feet by ten Locks.

Diagram of Canal Locks

Reproduced by permission from an engraved copy in the New Haven Colony Historical Society

chusetts; today, seventy-five years after the discontinuance of the canal, one will find many places in which kindly nature has labored in vain to conceal the scars. For the devastated homesteads and many hundred acres of farm land that were turned from fruitful fields into barren wastes, no speedy restoration was possible.

Under dire necessity, or for a genuine public benefit, ravages like these might be borne with equanimity; but in the case of an enterprise so utterly wild, and so futile in results, who could blame the victims for a feeling of resentment? When the scheme was first broached, there seems to have been no decided opposition. While the question of a charter was pending in the legislature, and before it was granted, a special town meeting was held in Hamden, April 1, 1822, "warned on account of the canal from New Haven to Farmington"; and all that is recorded of the doings is that it was "voted to adjourn without day." Whatever anxiety may have been felt at that time failed of any substantial support. Manifestly, the expectation of advantages to the community was so high as to quell any spirit of protest. But when the dream vanished in realities so disappointing, it was not easy to exonerate the exploiters who were responsible for the scheme.

Incidentally, a new and strange element was brought in among the people who lived along the route of the canal. Squads of Irish immigrants, with bosses to order them about, were employed in the work of scooping out the channel and raising the embankments. They were a very different sort of laborers from the Yankee farmers who kept to their usual routine in the neighboring fields; and, in spite of the fact that most of the Irishmen had suffered greatly from poverty in the old country, the change was not altogether a welcome or a happy one, either for them or for the New England communities into which they came.

The abandonment of the canal for the construction of a railroad was a further innovation. A new charter was obtained, and while the general plan was to go over the same ground as the canal, it was found convenient to diverge from

that path now and then. This involved the appropriation of other lands and the making of more trouble for many people. In Centerville, the high embankment that had been raised with great labor was left at one side and a new roadbed made at a lower level nearer the village; further north, it was decided to take the side of the turnpike and keep along by the travelled road for a mile or more, going in front of the Jared Atwater place, the Hezekiah Dickerman place, the Sherman place, and the meeting-house, instead of close behind them all. This was said to have been done in deference to the wishes of some of the landholders, who thought they would rather have the trains pass their front doors than run by their kitchens and through their back yards. It proved, however, to be a bad arrangement and was attended with serious dangers to people going along the highway. As there was no railing between the track and the travelled road, horses were frightened by the locomotives, cattle were frequently maimed or killed; occasionally, even a man or a woman was struck. Eventually, after some thirty years of such liabilities, the railroad was removed, about 1880-82, to its present route through New State and off to the west of Centerville.

Like the canal, the railroad was built chiefly by the labor of Irishmen and after its completion the ceaseless work of making repairs on the track and roadbed was carried on by the same means. Thus the inflow of a foreign population was continually on the increase. After awhile, the newcomers proceeded to make themselves at home, renting tenements, at first, where they could find them and later, as their accumulated wages made it possible, buying land and building thereon, till they became a considerable part of the community.

Canal and railroad alike pursued a policy of fostering manufactories. The canal locks afforded convenient locations with a measure of water power for driving machinery. At each of the Mount Carmel locks there was a factory doing a brisk business at the time when the railroad superseded the canal. Of course the manufacturers wished to go on as they

Homestead of Jared Dickerman

The lay-out of railroad and highway between 1847 and 1880

had been doing, with the locks undisturbed and no interference with their use of the canal for water power. Undoubtedly this was the principal reason why the railroad at that particular part was taken away from the canal bank and carried over to the side of the turnpike; for that left the factories entirely unharmed. As a safeguard against trouble in time to come, the proprietors of these establishments sought from the canal company a perpetual renewal of the license that had been granted them theretofore. Accordingly, the company made them a quit-claim deed to all its rights in the premises, but was careful to specify that the manufacturers should obtain rights "from the proprietors of lands adjoining said river and canal."* This put upon them the necessity of negotiation with every landholder who disliked having the canal continue to flow through his property. In the course of time, some of these landholders began to protest. The manufacturers, however, were not disposed to pay much attention to their protests. Thereupon one of the landholders thought he would test the case by throwing a flimsy dam across the canal a few rods above the upper lock. On the night following this action, a lot of men gathered at the spot and with a big hullabaloo tore up the dam. Immediately, the landholder set out to cart in loads of cobble stones, dumping them into the canal and building a dam that was not so easy to tear up. This brought the manufacturers to terms. A satisfactory agreement was entered into, after which the manufacturers were allowed to send their men by broad daylight to pick the stones out of the icy water and open a new channel.†

* Hamden Town Records, Vol. XXVIII, p. 628.

† This "village Hampden" was my honored father, and I well remember many incidents of a strife which sadly disturbed amicable relations with some of the neighbors, greatly to our discomfort. Father had a fine young orchard of apple trees south of the house which he had set out a year or two before and tended with much care till they promised an early fruitage; one morning we found that someone had come in the night and cut down all the trees close to the ground. In front of the house and grounds was a white picket fence, with a high board fence continuing on by the barn-yard; on another morning, we found that someone in the

The interests of these two small factories were by no means important enough to warrant all that was undertaken in their behalf. Not to dwell upon the sad blunder of putting the railroad by the highway instead of where it belonged, a continued deflection of Eaton Brook from its former plunge into Mill River above the mountain, into the artificial channel of the canal for nearly two miles, was not according to sound business principles. The general disadvantage was too great to be balanced by any value accruing to the two concerns. It was not many years before the manufacturers themselves saw this and, of their own accord, removed their establishments to the old neighborhood of Hunt's Mill, where for a number of years they were conspicuously prosperous.

The discontinuance of the canal released the streams by which it had been supplied and let them return to their original channels. Mill River at once felt the effects in a considerable enlargement and increased power, wherever a dam had been built or there was fall enough to invite new construction. An impetus was given to manufacturing such as had not been known theretofore. The increase in the number of foreigners provided the laborers requisite for the coarser work, while many sons of New England parents lost their interest in the farm and were glad to be employed in the manufactories in positions of some responsibility.

For various causes, the population has been steadily changing from year to year. An indication of this appears in the honor roll of soldiers posted at the town hall in Centerville. The list of some three hundred and fifty names contains only about fifty that one will recognize as belonging to the old Hamden families, while at least half of the whole number are manifestly foreign; not Irish only or mainly,

night had gone along these fences and smeared them from end to end with a brush of black paint. On the way to school, we children had to go by the factory, and some of the less considerate young fellows who were employed there used to come out and scare us, so that we ran as fast as our legs could carry us. The vindication of legal rights, however necessary, is often costly in more ways than one anticipates. Yet, in the far retrospect, unfolding results make all costs look less than trifling for the ends at stake. —*The Author.*

but Italian, German, French, Scandinavian, and Slavonic, with others not easy to classify.*

The immigrants who came in with the new order were generally adherents of the Roman Catholic Church and for a number of years went to New Haven for worship and priestly ministrations. As they became more numerous, it was thought desirable to have services in the neighborhood. The first mass was celebrated by the Reverend Matthew Hart in 1852 and two years later, in 1854, steps were taken to put up a church building, which was small and unpretentious. This church was subsequently enlarged and is still standing by the side of the superior edifice of more recent construction. The number of families associated with this church in 1919 was one hundred and seventy, among whom were native Americans, French, Italians, and a few Poles, besides those of Irish nationality.

Mill River showed great changes in a few years with the growth of manufacturing. In 1850, the road going down the hill across the street from the meeting-house crossed the river by a ford and proceeded southward over Spruce Bank.

* In the summer of 1849, the teacher of the Mount Carmel public school was Caroline A. Dickerman, afterward Mrs. Charles M. Tuttle. The roll of her pupils, now preserved by her daughter, Mrs. Florence A. Baldwin of New Haven, does not contain a single foreign name. Those on the roll are the following:

Margaret Anderson
Jason Barber
John Bassett
Mary Bradley
Burton Bradley
Merrit Brainard
Mary Brainard
George Brainard
Augusta Carpenter
Amelia Crowley
Elford Dickerman
Sumner Dickerman
John H. Dickerman
Mary E. Dickerman
George E. Dickerman
Mary Dickerman
Joel Dickerman
Cynthia Dickerman
Willis Dickerman
Susan Dickerman
Fanny Dickerman
Ezra D. Dickerman
Sherwood Dickerman
Watson Dickerman
Lyman Goodyear
Adelia Grannis
Almira Grannis
Ann Eliza Hubbard
Emily Hubbell
Jane Hubbell
Mary C. Hubbell
John Hubbell
John Ives
Brainard Ives
Albert Ives
Emily Ives
Julia Ives
Frederic Jacobs
Alice Jacobs
Emma Mathews
Jane Mathews
Maria Miller
Willis Miller
Josephine Peck
Sarah Peck
Elizabeth Pritchard
Josephine Root
Minervaetta Scovil
Emily Todd
Kirtland Todd
Richardson Todd

The water was then so shallow that the stones appeared above it and one could, by stepping from stone to stone, go across without wetting one's feet much. The boys used to drive the cows across to the pasture on the Rexford land by Spruce Bank and they took this way of getting over, unless they were barefoot and chose to wade. When the dam was built for the Ives factory, about half a mile below, the water here was deepened to about the depth of a foot, and a log with the upper side hewn flat answered for a footbridge, while cattle and teams still waded as before.

It was a picturesque spot. A little way to the right, nearly under the west end of the bridge as it is today, was a lovely moss-covered bank, shaded by a clump of hemlocks and sloping down to a mass of ferns by the water's edge; while on the opposite side there looked out from under two great elms a red, one-story farmhouse which was known as the "Sam Dickerman Place," an old homestead whose associations even then had passed into forgetfulness; and away to the north, seen through a vista of willows and other trees, stood the mountain, as it does now, the silent guardian of the valley.

Before very long the march of enterprise dispelled all this enchantment. The "Big Dam" with the bridge over it and the well-kept road and the broad sheet of water, covering the meadow lands that lay on either side of the stream, extinguished the life of trees, alders, and wild growths of every sort which had flourished there. The dam was built for the purpose of forming a reservoir for the water power below, though there was also some expectation that manufactories might be established in the immediate vicinity at no distant time. The manufactories never came, and the lake still finds its purpose fulfilled in being a reservoir. It may be said, however, that the loss of the old charm of the shallow stream has been more than made good in the delightful landscape a passer-by now looks upon from the bridge or the margin of the lake.

The river has undergone similar alterations of outline at several other points, particularly toward New Haven. I can remember when the dam at Whitneyville was only a few

feet high with a corresponding depth of water behind it, and the road from the north ran along a narrow stream at a much lower level than now. Raising the dam to its present height flooded wide tracts of lowland and deepened the river as far as Centerville, forming the extensive lake which is so fine a feature of the country there.

Manufacturing was promoted by the policy of the railroad in encouraging local traffic. A station was maintained at Centerville and three or four at Mount Carmel, where trains would stop on signal by a red flag and take on freight as well as passengers. This helped the factories very much, enabling them to bring in their raw materials at small cost, and facilitating a speedy shipment of their products to market. A number of enterprises became very prosperous, and these encouraged others to come in. Substantial buildings were put up; houses for mechanics multiplied; people found they could make more money in the factories than on the farms, and for a number of years it looked as if mechanical pursuits were to prevail over all others. But with the turning aside of the railroad to its new route, and the adoption of a policy that looked to through traffic at the expense of local business, things became less favorable. Some concerns removed to other parts where they could be better accommodated and manufacturing industries met with a decline. The time has now come when the water that turned Hunt's Mill is no longer utilized and even the historic dam of old Joel Munson, between the Steps and the mountain, is valued only for its relation to the reservoir of the New Haven Water Company. Manufactories further down the river are still maintained, but hardly with the confidence of former years.

In my childhood days, the passing of a canal boat drawn by a horse toiling along the towpath was a familiar scene and the working of the lock by which the boats were lifted or lowered from one level to another was one of the interesting operations that visitors were often invited to watch. The schoolhouse was opposite the meeting-house on the road; behind the meeting-house was the canal over which there was a bridge for the travel to New State, and the school children

often made a sort of playground of the place below the bridge by the side of the canal. One spring day, when the ice still edged the canal, inside the open channel where the boats went, a number of small children were finding their fun in stamping on this ice, and I myself among them, when suddenly the ice broke behind and threw me in. My brother Ezra saw me go, hollered to the big boys to get me, and then jumped in after me; so that the two of us were in danger of drowning. He was near the shore and one of the fellows caught him and pulled him up on the ground. Another pushed out a rail to me, which I grabbed; so I was drawn out with no greater harm than a good sousing. It was so cold, though, that we were hurried home, where mother dried us off and put us into a feather bed that had been heated with a warming pan, most thankful to have us safe in the house.

In those days, the turnpike was a well-travelled thoroughfare, the horses and oxen usually stopping to drink at the watering trough a few rods below the meeting-house, where the brook ran across the road. Then came a time when the ground all along the west side of the street was worked up and graded for the railroad; ties were brought and laid down at intervals, and finally the iron rails were strung upon them and spiked down—all wonderful processes to children's watching eyes. Next was seen the puffing, hooting locomotive crawling up the street, a wonder so strange that some of the girls and little boys got up on the wood pile to be in a safer place while the train was going by. Lastly, to crown all, people of all ages, including the children, of whom I was one, and their friends, were invited to a free ride on the cars up to Plainville, which was as far as trains were running at that time.

Mention of the old school and the road over the bridge to New State brings to my mind a truant adventure I had when I was a very little boy. Three or four children of the Edmond Bradley family, whose home was in that part of the town, proposed that I go home with them after school; and, against the decided objections of my older brother, I ran away with them. It was about a mile to their house; and,

when we had got there, they asked me to go with them after their cows which were in a pasture over by the "Falls." I wanted to see a waterfall, and so went on with them. Having looked upon the wonder and found the cows, we returned to their house just as it was beginning to grow dark. Then I was sent home all alone. What a time I had getting back! By that time I was fagged out and my little legs ached with tramping; the lonely road lay much of the way through the woods and it was an hour for uncanny noises, making the darkness all the more fearsome; and not the least of my terrors was the thought of what I would get when I met my father. Scared half out of my wits, I ran a good deal of the way, bellowing in tears, till I burst in at the door, crying "My head aches! my head aches!" as sure enough it did. But instead of the flogging, which I knew I deserved, I received a welcome which astonished me. The family were about as much scared as I was and were mighty glad to see me. Mother wiped away my tears and took me in her arms. Few questions were asked, and I went off to bed very happy.

How recent it all seems to me in spite of the retrospect of seventy-five years! How far away to the shorter experience of youthful minds occupied today with the manifold events of the passing hour! The street is the same; but today it is broad and hard, without mud in a wet season, without dust in the drought of summer; a thoroughfare with trolley cars at short intervals and with motor vehicles speeding to destinations far and near, to Memphremagog and Canada, to the mountains of Vermont and New Hampshire, to the lakes of Maine and her fascinating ocean coast, whither a host of adventurers in quest of health and recreation make their journey annually from all over the United States. The well-remembered rural conditions of the valley under the Blue Hills are fast changing to those of a suburban community. The old farmhouses are being superseded by the residences of those whose business is in the city; while telegraph, telephone, and radio bring the people into almost immediate communication, not only with distant parts of our own country, but with other lands and vast world-wide interests. And,

forecasting new conditions which are hurrying on their way, there breaks into view the project that is to make of the old Blue Hills themselves a state park for a universal recreation ground of all the people, free as when the Indians haunted it before any white man crossed the seas.

It is indeed a wonderful drama which is thus unrolled within the memories of a single lifetime. And in it all, a thoughtful mind cannot fail to discern a far-extending method, a steadily unfolding purpose, in which moral and spiritual forces of transcendent meaning, swelling like seed in the dark and growing in an atmosphere of privation and lowly hardship, have brought forth greatness of character, the strength to do and dare, to discern, and to achieve, as shown in the nation's life. We never compass the meaning of any grandeur till we acquaint ourselves with its modest beginnings.

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